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Ethiopia

President Mengistu Speaks on Party Policy Changes

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[Live relay of report by President Mengistu Haile Mariam to the 11th regular session of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia (WPE) Central Committee at the WPE Congress Hall in Addis Ababa]

[Text] Dear members and alternate members of the Central Committee: In all its efforts to discharge the responsibilities vested in it, our party's prime directive has been to fulfill the wishes of all Ethiopian people and to serve them. Due to man-made calamities and natural imbalances, particularly drought and faulty implementation, goals to which we have aspired have not been achieved in spite of the many efforts made to effect this country's well-being and progress. Even today these efforts and struggles have not ceased.

In the light of the current world situation, in order to reorient the path toward progress by imbuing it with a new spirit on the basis of a reassessment, we have now reached the stage at which we can draw conclusions. Accordingly, inasmuch as the report I am about to submit to this session of the Central Committee embraces ideas essential to the existence of our entire society and country and to the course of our future progress, I strongly urge all citizens to gain a thorough understanding of these ideas. Inasmuch as no priority exists which transcends that of ensuring the survival of our country and its people, we have concentrated our full attention and efforts on this issue—an issue well known to all Ethiopian people, who are involved in it and who are directing it.

Our country's security being the prime concern of all genuine citizens, it is essential to review the situation from time to time and to take appropriate steps.

Another basic issue requiring attention is our social well-being. Having identified our people's yearning to rapidly liberate their country from backwardness as a point of departure and mainspring, we planned a great deal, struggled a great deal, and exhausted ourselves a great deal. In assessing what we did in the context of the concrete situation [word indistinct] in our country, in our regions, and internationally, it is important to obtain replies to the questions of the day, namely, what have we achieved, what problems did we encounter, what remains to be done, and so on. This session of our Central Committee will accordingly focus on two major issues. The first is to gain an understanding of the security situation prevailing in our country so as to decide what steps must be taken in the future. The second is to examine the prevailing political, economic, and social situations and the relevant policies laid down by the Politburo, and make appropriate decisions.

Comrades, it is clear to everyone that in the context of the destabilization of peace in our country, the Eritrean secessionists and the Weyane [Tigray People's Liberation Front, TPLF] in their attempts to detach Eritrea on the one hand and if possible to divide the country and disintegrate the society, have been intensifying their arrogance more than ever before, because the conspiracy they hatched and the violence they have been perpetrating have been fully exposed.

It is known that the Weyane group and its creator, the Eritrean secessionist group, by coordinating their forces and their destructive programs, encouraged by the violence they committed in some parts of the northern part of our country, have been making a large-scale attack.

Having ignored the call of the Ethiopian people for a peaceful solution and in order to implement their mission of disintegrating the country on a grand scale by launching a war, when the Weyane found themselves unable to succeed with ease, the so-called Sha'biyyah [Eritrean People's Liberation Front, EPLF] in Eritrea, an anti-peace and arrogant group, reopened an offensive. Consequently, we have had to open the fighting fronts of struggle which have engaged most of our attention in recent times.

In the context of facing the dangerous situation created, openly telling the people about the plot made by the enemies of Ethiopian unity, disclosing the alternatives of either witnessing the simple disintegration of our country or of the majority joining hands swiftly to save it, the response we received not only made us fully proud of being Ethiopians, but also rendered us able to withstand the enemies of the country's unity. However, the arrogance and pressure has intensified rather than abated.

External enemies who loathe the Ethiopian people's strong historic devotion to independence and progress and the strength of the Ethiopian people, have by means of the vast quantities of arms and ammunition they have been receiving at a neighboring country's port, by virtue of preparations made in a neighboring country and facilitated by the coordination and command of their overall campaign headquarters established in a neighboring country, been able to wound our country and place it in a very ugly situation.

Abandoning the known war fronts few weeks ago, the anti-Ethiopian unity groups, having been given great fighting support, attacked us through western Ethiopia and caused heavy damage. In particular at Asosa, many innocent compatriots have been violently massacred. Development infrastructures of a size and value difficult to estimate—people's property and sole wealth of the country—have been looted and taken to a neighboring country.

Whatever was left behind was destroyed, demolished, and burned out. Worst of all, about 200 compatriots, including hospital patients, were locked up in a house, shot, and set ablaze on the pretext that they belonged to

a certain nationality. The necessary steps were taken at the time to contain and curb such violence.

While we were fighting on this and other war fronts, the so-called Sha'biyyah mobilized all its forces and set them on Mitsiwa, the lifeline of our country's northern part, thus opening another gate through which to attack. While we were making efforts day and night to counter this dangerous situation, the Weyane mounted another large-scale attack through the Debre Tabor front. They blocked land transport to the whole of Gonder and created an appalling situation. But most importantly, inasmuch as the war is being (?spearheaded) by countries wishing to disintegrate Ethiopia, the situation is becoming very complex.

The most heinous of all their crimes is pretending to be on our side while promoting ill-will among the sons of the people and within our army and the entire people. This represents a situation more dangerous than that prevailing on the battlefield.

Everyone desiring Ethiopia's survival must properly recognize these acts of treason and sabotage for what they are. It is the prime duty of every Ethiopian to take swift countermeasures wherever such acts are perpetrated.

Our enemies are not yet satisfied with their ugly acts towards disintegrating the country during the previous weeks and earlier. A few days ago, another danger began to loom over Ethiopia and its people. Using the Weyane as an instrument the enemies have begun to threaten through Bahir Dar, thus greatly violating the independence of this people and this ancient country.

All citizens, be you at home or abroad, workers, peasants, intelligentsia, students, office employees, businessmen, Christians, Muslims, and so on, must recognize that our enemies are bent on destroying development infrastructures and health, educational, and other services with a view to dismembering our country and its society living in the African Continent, preserving its independence, dignity, and unity. Accordingly, if our country is to be rescued from disintegration, it will not suffice for any limited section of society to shoulder the responsibility for conducting the struggle, but each and every Ethiopian citizen will have to make prompt decisions and act upon them.

Dear compatriots, the various units of our revolutionary army, people's militia, and many other determined compatriots acted promptly and firmly to preserve the country's unity so as to ensure that the historic existence of the motherland and its proud compatriots would not be exposed to disgrace. These rapidly taken decisions and steps prove that the aspirations to unity and the patriotic spirit inherited from our forefathers who discharged their historic responsibilities will survive as an honor to their heritage today and in the future.

Our anger born of our warm love for an integral Ethiopia and for coexistence is once again clear to all who

underestimate Ethiopia's secrets or fail to understand Ethiopia properly. The Ethiopian people understand perfectly well from their past experience the nature of the sacrifices required by war in this part of the world—noble sacrifices they have been making in terms of lives lost and blood shed over the years to preserve their independence.

The Ethiopian people are not, therefore, warmongers in any sense. I do not believe that the world will misunderstand this fact. However, both in the past and now, there has never been an alternative to strengthening our forces and gallantly countering the gross aggression of the plotters. Even today, if any kind of solution is to be found, the country has no available alternative as a means of ensuring its survival.

Accordingly, the country does not confine its expectations to the victories to be won on the battlefield by our army and people's militia, but extends these expectations to embrace practical action on the part of all its citizens in confirmation of their adherence to the motherland, thus to ensure that the enemy comes to recognize the might of the united Ethiopian people in their millions. The enemy bent on dismembering the country cannot be repulsed by being condemned or cursed. When there is talk of a peaceful solution, one must be in a strong position. Therefore we cannot relax.

Compatriots, it is known that some quarters have been of the view that the intensification of the war or the complete absence of peace was a problem introduced by the revolution. The revolution was a historic event which erupted as a result of the grievances of the Ethiopian people, who had been generally denied their equal national rights and justice. The revolution did not take place in response to the wishes and pressures of a few individuals or sections of society. However, such quarters as viewed this great phenomenon positively by virtue of their individual interests both at home and abroad subsequently sought to subvert it by using force, as the result of which undesirable conflicts and problems ensued.

On the one hand there has been a strong wish to preserve the Ethiopian people's unity and independence thereby to establish a society wherein justice prevails, while on the other there have been the interests of foreign forces and their tools at home wishing to capitalize on the downfall of the Ethiopian people. Inasmuch as these two trends are incompatible, we have been obliged to live in a constant state of (?no) peace.

Of course, had we agreed to our country giving up its independence and to allowing it to disintegrate at the hands of anyone, thereby exposing our compatriots to disgrace, we would not have resolved to defend our existence and our self-esteem. Had we cooperated with those bent on destroying us, we would not have worried about our rights and freedom, and neither would we have suffered, been wounded, or died for our freedom and rights, since there would have been no cause to

defend. However, inasmuch as Ethiopia and the Ethiopians evolved from ancient times as attested to by concrete historical records and ancient holy scriptures, we are obliged to defend our existence, which we cannot be expected easily to give up. Since giving up is inconceivable, we have been obliged to contain and repulse attacks. Time has tested the Ethiopian people's unflinching determination to safeguard their existence.

As has been repeatedly stated, time and again attempts have been made to beset our ancient motherland, Ethiopia, with various problems, and conspiracies have been hatched to dismember it and plunge it into chaos. Generally speaking, all the conspiracies have been hatched by forces unwilling to see a developed and strong Ethiopia, using the Eritrean secessionists as their tools. The secessionists are currently trying to achieve the goals they failed to achieve over the years by disguising themselves under different names and by dividing Ethiopians along tribal lines and sowing the seeds of enmity between them. These are the main characteristics of the current conspiracy.

Following their long experience of secessionism, the secessionists started dreaming that if they succeeded in bringing about the secession of Eritrea, their achievement could not survive if they left the rest of Ethiopia intact. Accordingly, they decided that in order to render the secession of Eritrea eternal they must dismember the rest of Ethiopia. Inspired by this perilous conspiracy, they have been inciting young people to organize themselves with a view toward bringing narrow aims to realization. To this end they have been infiltrating into various corners to mobilize young people away from the path of development and toward the path of destruction. They have been infiltrating from neighboring countries in collaboration with their coconspirators in the guise of our various nationalities. They are trying to incite clashes and discord among us. They have also infiltrated the western, eastern, and southern regions of our country, destroying various economic infrastructures and shedding the blood of compatriots.

Not content with the atrocities they perpetrated by means of the Weyanes whom they set up, or with their other anti-Ethiopia activities, they recently embarked on another big war of national destruction by rejecting the recent peace efforts. This clearly reveals their nature. In general, they have taken up the task of sowing discord between nationalities, a strategy aimed at bringing about the disintegration of Ethiopia and a hostile activity which they have taken up as their permanent career. By so doing—something for which history will not forgive them—they have brought intense pressure to bear on our country in order to achieve their longstanding aim of the secession of Eritrea and the disintegration of the rest of Ethiopia, thus to erase Ethiopia from the map of the world. In this effort they have been unrelenting, using every wicked tactic internally and externally to achieve their negative objectives.

They also considered it their solemn duty to disgrace Ethiopia and shed the blood of its citizens. Although these traitors have always made out that the secessionist war was between themselves and our army alone, their confrontation with genuine Ethiopians of Eritrean origin can never be denied. Likewise, the massacres they have been perpetrating to impose their narrow views on the Eritrean people are notorious. They have made a particular point of scourging the people living in the war zone. They have been committing atrocities against the groups which opposed them and supported unity. They have barbarously massacred them with bullets and mines. Many people have left the region to become refugees in foreign countries and are living in misery, as well as having to make contributions to further the wicked aims of the rebels. Moreover, they have done all in their power deeply to wound the people's identity and history by sowing discord and hatred among them.

The puppets and disciples of the Eritrean secessionists, the Weyanes, unable to do anything other than what they have been set up for and instructed to do, are nevertheless perpetrating many atrocities, internally and externally, so as to dismember Ethiopia.

It is clearer today than ever before that the main causes of the country's political, economic, and social problems are the atrocities perpetrated by the groups hostile to the peace and unity of Ethiopia. Whereas there is no doubt that this is true, the harbingers of destruction are trying to obfuscate the issue to divert attention to other problems emanating from it. At the time they themselves are waging a war of disintegration and destruction, they ask the Ethiopian people whether their children are taking part in the war to discourage the latter from defending themselves against the anti-unity and anti-peace onslaught.

While they themselves are the cause of the country's economic deterioration, destroying and cause of the development activities, they ask why the livelihood of the Ethiopian people has deteriorated. They themselves spread war and set up various obstacles to delay the attainment of peace, and try to have our government, which has extended the hand of peace, condemned as anti-peace. But they have not succeeded in this. They have also been trying various intrigues, which they think will benefit them, particularly in their propaganda. They have tried various mischievous means, which they believed would help them cheat and distract the Ethiopian people.

While engaging in their various activities to implement their aims, they have always misinterpreted and misquoted history to their own ends. This is typical of them. For example, in their efforts to portray the people of Eritrea region as different from the other Ethiopian people and to persuade their masters to this effect, they have given priority to an alien language and used various expressions to support their argument. This is nothing but using language to play with history. The question of

being Arab, the question of nationality, the question of colonialism and so on—there has not been a question they have not raised.

The secessionists constantly irritate the Ethiopian people, telling them you have suffered because of war; in the absence of war your development would have accelerated and your life improved; since it is your own government which involved you in war, you have to struggle against the government in order to attain peace. This is one of the ways by which they confuse the people. They use it because they underestimate the Ethiopian people's intelligence. Not only that, but what they are also saying is: While you are in the process of killing each other, we will bring about the secession of Eritrea. This is the main point which we must understand clearly.

Without any form of legal representation or election, they have climbed on the shoulders of the people by the power of the gun. One says: I am the representative of the Eritrean people. The other one says: I am the representative of the Tigrayan people. But they are trying to dismantle the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, which was established on the basis of a popularly accepted constitution. This clearly shows which side is ignorant. There is no need for further explanation.

The Weyanes, for their part, in a document full of irritating rhetoric, have been claiming that Tigray has been an independent state since ancient times, that the Axumite civilization was limited to Tigrayan territory and was not an Ethiopian civilization. Therefore, they said: We must bring about the secession of Tigray and establish a Tigrayan republic. This is what they have been saying for years. They have also been saying that Ethiopia was established less than a century ago by the Amharas and Menelik, and as if they had never uttered these and other shameless provocations, last month, an individual who claims to be the leader of the Weyane group said the Ethiopian people's love of unity was beyond question, but they would have to express this desire themselves: We will wage the war until the Ethiopian people express their desire for unity. This is a wonderful but sad piece of sarcasm.

One of the Weyane group's boasts is that it has been able to convince the Tigrayan people of the need for Eritrea to secede. It is also deploying Tigrayan youths en masse to fight in the Eritrean war. These youths are now fighting against our revolutionary army and Eritreans standing firm for Ethiopian unity. Is this really of any use to the people of Tigray? Is this what they want? Does the assurance given to the Tigrayan people that they are different from the rest of the Ethiopian people and that they should therefore secede and form a republic constitute a realizable goal? Does it benefit the Tigrayan people? Above all, is the problem of our people really a problem of unity, or is unity our problem? Is not our problem backwardness, underdevelopment, and lack of time to overcome all of these because of external invasions and the struggle for our existence? Has not our

problem been feudalism and concomitant backwardness? Does fratricidal war and self-destruction solve this problem? The belief and the goal we are sacrificing our lives for is not and will never be this. We say: Unity is strength. Unity is peace and love. Unity is greatness and prosperity. This was well understood by our forefathers, who were here centuries ago.

That goal of secession, which was conceived as the result of simplistic thinking and has shed the blood of many people, is unrealizable. If so, what is the use of people invading the lands of their neighbors, claiming that inasmuch as the Tigrayan revolution is in the van, it should extend itself to embrace the rest of Ethiopia?

In Eritrea, the secessionists who made war a daily reality have only added destruction to destruction and diminished the general growth of all of Ethiopia. Can they really come up with any historically acceptable solution other than destruction? At a time when compatriots are killing each other, is it conceivable that there will be peace in this country with one being the victor and the other the vanquished? It is very sad that the Ethiopian people have not been able to enjoy the peace and development to which they have been aspiring. This becomes more saddening when we recognize that the Ethiopian people have the ability to put into practice their earnest desire for development and peace.

Unlike the groups which have brought war in the name of liberty and which have not carried out a jot of development activity, I feel saddened and pained and am at a loss to express the sum total of my sorrow that we, as a responsible party and government, were not lucky enough to contribute further than we have done to the development and progress of our people. I feel saddened that we, who rose up to bring peace, social justice, and prosperity, have found ourselves in this shameful and agonizing business.

Nevertheless, since it is the earnest desire of the people to achieve peace in a peaceful way, and since peace is indispensable for the reconstruction of the country, we have been making immense efforts to carry out the new peace initiative adopted by the National Shengo last June. However, although we view with optimism the beginning of talks with opposition groups in Eritrea and Tigray to solve the problems in these regions, the opposition groups have put up many obstacles to thwart these first efforts.

The so-called Sha'biyyah, right at the outset, engaged in a negative propaganda campaign, saying that the government was acting in this way because it was in difficulty, instead of looking at it from a constructive point of view. Since the main substance of the issue and the concern of the people is the attainment of peace, there is no need for negative propaganda. The government, not paying any attention to the rude and insolent campaign launched against it by the secessionists, has with great patience made tremendous efforts to continue the talks.

As has been stated on many occasions, it was possible to resolve procedural matters in the second round of talks in Nairobi and create circumstances conducive for progress towards talks of substance.

However, the invitation by the so-called Sha'biyyah to the United Nations to attend as observer in subsequent meetings was not accepted. When this happened, it carried out a campaign of baseless accusations and false information against us and against the former U.S. leader, President Carter, who was willing to help us. It even reached the stage of a refusal to set the date for the beginning of the substantive talks. It is not difficult to imagine what this indicates. The recent tragic war it opened, to continue bloodshed and massacre, has surely clearly shown that it does not want a peaceful resolution.

The group which has been saying it is struggling for Tigray's freedom created problems in the two rounds of talks held in Italy by claiming to be accepted as the representative of the Ethiopian people. However, since it was made to understand in the previous London agreement that it would be known only as the Weyane and did not represent anyone else, it tried to spread rumors even about the Italian Government representative, who had been helping us in the talks.

This group, just like its creator, the Sha'biyyah, tried to postpone the next round of talks until next September. However, with much effort from the Italian Government representative, it was possible to set a date in the month of Megabit [Ethiopian month, 10 March-8 April]. Since this group also trades in people's agony and blood, and since what it has been doing so far and what it is doing right now is very clear, I do not think it necessary to go into details.

In general, it is clear to anyone that the people will not benefit from the weakening of the peace efforts and the continuation of the war due to the poor excuses given by both groups.

For our part, we have not yet given up our hopes to secure peace, or our efforts to end the agony of the people and bring internationally supported peace to our country. We have never backed away from seeking peace and overcoming the offensives of the treacherous groups.

It is time to stop parading around the world's capitals misinterpreting Ethiopian history and falsely representing the Ethiopian people. It is time to stop dispersing people from their homesteads, subjecting them to starvation and collecting money in the name of the country and the people, under the false pretence of patriotism.

In today's world, when efforts are being made to ease tension and create better relations and cooperation, the blood of the Ethiopian people should not continue to be shed. In present-day Ethiopia, it is a historical shame to divide the people for one's own selfish motives in the name of Tigray liberation, Eritrean liberation, and so on. This shameful mischief of dividing a people, which exists

based on equality and with a sense of mutual existence, and which is making constructive efforts based on brotherly spirit, should stop.

The children of a country which is not only an example of freedom and longevity but also a country which has struggled for the freedom of Africa, should not allow such a sad and shameful portrayal of its long existence and independence. It is shameful and sad that the present generation has been given such a portrayal of the freedom of this country.

There is no ruling or subordinate class in today's Ethiopia. In today's Ethiopia there is no liberator and nobody to be liberated.

As is well-known, the problem of peace which occurs in one region of our country is not limited to that region alone. It is a problem of all of Ethiopia. Therefore, the problem which has erupted in the northern part of our country has been bleeding the people and retarding the development of all of Ethiopia.

If this were not the case, anyone with a rational mind could imagine how far we would have developed our country in accordance with our efforts and desires. Since our determined desire for development has met obstacles, we have been placed in a grievous situation for generations.

Even in our present limited situation, some of our establishments have been subject to destruction on a daily basis. Natural disaster has ceaselessly taken us to task. Despite all this, we can find some consolation, since the foundations of development which have been laid down during the past revolutionary years cannot be underestimated.

Although the current burning issue is the integrity of our country, there is no doubt that we should prepare for better development and assess our social development together with this decisive struggle. If things had gone the way we intended, our total effort would have been put into our struggle against backwardness. This becomes more relevant when we assess the livelihood and agony of many of our compatriots in the various regions of the country. There is no more sacred duty than this for this generation. In accordance with this, right from the outset, our aim was to hand over to the coming generation a united and well-developed Ethiopia.

Unfortunately, like our forefathers, we have not been lucky enough to put our total means, force, and attention into the progress of our society. For this reason, today, as ever before, it is necessary to struggle in all directions.

In the current international economic reality, where social development is very complex, it is not difficult to recognize how hard it is, on the one hand, to work for the respect of national integrity and, on the other, to accelerate development. Faced with this concrete reality, the question we should ask is: How can we accelerate our

economic and social development? When we talk about social development, we are talking about the life of our society.

Accelerated social development improves the life of society; retarded social development exacerbates problems. So, when we consider the problems of social development, we are concerning ourselves with our society's day-to-day problems. If we fail to fully understand the nature of these problems and act to enable society to understand them correctly, we shall also fail to accelerate development.

We should therefore ask: What are the obstacles to the acceleration of our social development? What are the causes of these problems? Which problems arise from execution and which from organization? Regarding the administration of our economy, it is these and other questions which are in the minds of our society. These questions must be analyzed in depth, but as stated on various occasions, even this is not enough. It is our own efforts which constitute the linchpin of our social development.

However, the external world situation greatly influences these efforts. We must therefore ask: What developments are affecting the international economic process? What sort of views on social development are being expressed internationally? What positive or negative impacts do such views have on our development process? We must analyze these questions constructively and, concomitantly, it will be perfectly appropriate for us to discuss questions regarding our social development openly during this current Central Committee meeting. And naturally, inasmuch as these questions are basic, we shall be able to discuss them at length.

Our discussions will help us differentiate between destructive and constructive factors, the temporary from the permanent, and the executive from the organizational with a view to bringing into focus what could help us resolve problems. Accordingly, developing a collective understanding of matters we could elaborate, correct, improve, strengthen, or reorientate in the correct direction would constitute a step forward towards further strengthening unity of purpose between the leadership and our members, as well as between our party and the people as a whole.

Comrades, on the basis of proceeding towards such a necessary analysis, it will be important for us collectively to consider the history of our revolution, because anyone who does not understand the beginning cannot understand the end. I therefore think it is appropriate to go back and ask ourselves how we decided what path of progress to follow. When we examine the past from the point of view of social development, it is known that our country was one of the few countries in the world where an ancient civilization existed. In ancient times, our country built its economy on agriculture, trade, handicrafts of modest technological standards, and established

and developed towns as an expression of basic civilization. It was one of the countries in Africa which developed its own [word indistinct] culture. This is recorded by history and we all know it.

However, for various reasons our country failed to advance with the civilization it founded and forge ahead towards modernization. As is known, our country's strategic position, then as now, has attracted the attention of powerful states from time to time. That is why many wars have been fought against expansionists, colonialists, and aggressors. Moreover, it is also known that in order to preserve our Red Sea outlets, which constitute our communication link with the outside world, we were forced to fight many wars. It cannot be forgotten that the fire lighted in this area on several occasions threatened the whole country's existence. In fact, all of our long-standing history could be described as a succession of wars to preserve our unity and existence. By the time our country reached a concrete stage of civilization it was suffocated by backwardness, the basic reason for these wars. This being the case, agriculture remained society's basic means of livelihood with economic activities remaining at a generally low level. For similar reasons, it is known that the factors needed to stimulate work, particularly those relating to new working methods and developing creativity, were absent. The respect paid to those engaged in handicrafts was very low, and this is what we remember even of recent times.

Generally speaking, the backward, unscientifically-based technology has therefore been one of the expressions of the low level of our society's industrial culture. Moreover, if we go back to assess our recent history, it will be recalled that in the prerevolutionary period, the social status of people in our country was such that it could not be changed easily and the gap between the rich and the poor was very wide. A handful of individuals had the upper hand in every respect, while the majority in all spheres were left poor, backward, and without a role in their country's administrative, political, and social affairs.

We remember that until recently the political structures were backward and in most cases based on blood and marriage relationships. The country stood at a very low level of progress, so the various sections of the people could not meet one another. On the other hand, the administrative structure of the feudal system suffocated popular participation, a very apparent phenomenon. It is undeniable that what characterized our society's identity consisted of pride on the basis of land tenure, power, blood, and rank on the one hand and contempt for productive labor on the other. This being the case, the country's economic advancement and the improvement of the living conditions remained suppressed for many years. That is why all working people struggled gallantly to overthrow the feudal system. The struggle reached a climax and erupted at a single historical moment, but it must not be forgotten that society had waged it in various ways for a very long time.

In short, it is unquestionable that the 1974 Revolution had no organized political leadership. It was the expression of a popular anger or revolt arising out of a genuine desire for political change. As everyone knows perfectly well, at the onset of the revolution, the entire working people rose up nationwide for change. The objectives we drew up were to bring about an Ethiopia whose sons and daughters could achieve progress and improved living conditions on an equal basis and in which justice would be restored and unity preserved.

Although the means of achieving social progress varies from one society to the other, there is no doubt that at the onset of our revolution it was socialism or the socialist path of development to which the intelligentsia, workers, army, students, and other struggling working people aspired and supported. It is true that at the onset of the revolution the sections of the broad masses seeking change bitterly struggled over the issue of who the best socialist or revolutionary was. There was, accordingly, [words indistinct] an open argument between revolutionaries and those who claimed to be revolutionaries over socialism as opposed to other paths of progress. We all know this. Eventually, the majority of those who rose for change inclined towards the socialist path of progress.

And there were many reasons for this. The USSR, the PRC, and many other countries were freed from backwardness in a very short period of time when they followed the socialist path of progress. This was a great practical example for the choice made by our society.

In addition, the distribution of wealth, in particular the feudal land tenure system, the need to find a just solution to this problem, and the desire to establish unity among the different nationalities in our country on the basis of equality made a contribution towards the choice of the path of progress. In general, it could be said that this choice arose, in particular, from the great desire and (?determination) of those sections of our society to see change with a view to freeing our country from backwardness within a short period of time.

Given the choice we made of the path of progress during our revolution, it is important to remember that at the international level, socialism was not ignored when social progress was discussed at length by developing countries. During the 1970's, during the outbreak of our revolution, the struggle of the youth, intelligentsia, and working people in countries like ours in Africa, Latin America, and Asia was aimed at following the socialist path of progress. During those years, justice and social progress meant socialism, or anything not on the capitalist path. This was the conclusion of many students of social affairs. The adoption of socialism as the direction for our social progress was based on this, considering the broad support it won both at home and abroad.

The great impetus for choosing the path of progress was based on the thousands of written remarks which reached us every day and which had a socialist content,

together with the large rallies held in Addis Ababa and other parts of our country through which the particular interests and wishes of the people were expressed. This being the case, the choice of the path of progress was not made on the basis of the pressure of the beliefs of a few individuals, as is being suggested by some quarters.

Since it was not possible to jump directly from feudalism to socialism, the National Democratic Revolution Program, which was drawn up to serve the transition, was widely accepted by the people. The struggle for progress on the basis of this program had a national image of freeing the country from (?unjust) external pressure and relations, and a democratic image of enabling the majority of the working people to participate in the affairs of their country. This was a process of change which was openly arrived at and which enjoyed broad support.

On the basis of this national revolutionary movement for change, many steps to ensure the benefits of the broad masses were taken. These steps eliminated the differences which used to exist among the working people in land tenure and ownership of property, and which were the basis of the political and social inequalities of citizens. Therefore, in the light of the steps taken based on our national democratic program, the majority of the working people were given their rightful place in the economic, political and social life of their country and conditions were created through which all citizens could progress on an equal basis.

With a view to effecting steps for change, wide-ranging efforts were made in various spheres to expedite our social progress, particularly in the economic sphere. To advance agricultural development, which has been our weakness, many efforts were made from the training of experts to expanding modern technological inputs for the rural areas. The efforts made to expand modern industry, which is the basis for economic progress, were considerable. Many studies were conducted to identify the country's mineral resources, some of which are being exploited with promising results. Efforts were also made in the energy sector, which has a decisive role in economic development, just as minerals. It was possible to conduct studies on the country's energy potential. Accordingly, what was done in the sphere of hydroelectric construction was considerable.

In the social sphere, to help the people acquire knowledge, educational opportunities starting from literacy to various levels were expanded, many training institutions established, and a broad basis for introducing modern technology to our country laid down. The efforts made within the scope of our capabilities to establish health centers and expand the clean drinking water supply are clearly apparent. Our efforts to expand transport and communications links have produced satisfactory results.

In general, the work done to improve the various spheres of economic and social life constitutes concrete evidence

of our plans and our eagerness to effect development, as well as a strong foundation for the advancement of our country. In light of these accomplishments, an important issue is that the development of infrastructures and installations were not established with a view to achieving short-term benefits only but also to achieve a long-term and balanced—I repeat balanced—distribution of development among the people in the various parts of our country. In particular, the results served to transform our people's spiritual life. This is something which should be clearly understood. Our people's culture in reading, writing, and participating in the country's affairs has been enhanced. The social progress made at this stage of our development is the product of the conscious participation of the majority of our citizens. This cannot be taken lightly. The industrial culture of the people has also been enhanced. All this, in the light of what we stand for, means that the progress achieved during the revolutionary process must be highly rated. It is important to note that this improved spiritual situation by itself is a great (aspect) of advanced economic progress.

It is true, and we recognize it, that we were not able to attain the degree of progress for which we had hoped and planned, but this is not because of lack of [word indistinct], or not paying enough attention to the promotion of economic progress, nor is it because of lack of willingness and determination to accept the sacrifices required by the process of effecting social progress. I think all genuine compatriots recognize this.

The great hindrance to our country's progress is the absence of peace and this problem of ours is the one which should be strongly stressed. In the first place, the sacrifices we made in the country's east and south to preserve our territorial integrity cannot be forgotten. When we were reconstructing development installations, schools, health establishments, bridges, roads, residential homes and the like destroyed by this war, there was no alternative to struggling to preserve our unity in the northern part of our country. That has been constantly escalating, which is something I elaborated on earlier in terms of the situation we now find ourselves in. I think all right-minded citizens understand the heavy sacrifices in terms of manpower, materials and funds the war required of us. In addition, inconceivably and persistently, we had been repeatedly hit by natural problems, which hampered our efforts to expedite social progress. The prevalence of natural problems has caused great damage to human life, production and animals.

In assessing a country's social progress it is imperative to examine the world economic situation. In this respect—particularly over the past 15 years—what has been the shape of the world's economy? To what extent do the trends of change—be it ours or other developing countries—favor our aspirations to progress? These questions are relevant. It is true that trying to analyze such issues in depth would be beyond the scope of this report. However, in order to understand the magnitude of the problem we face, I think it is important at least to

identify some indicators. Accordingly, when we look into the situation in Africa above all, in general, the continent's economic trends with the exception of a few countries, point toward total collapse.

If we consider Nigeria's economy—which at one time had been one of rising development—from 1985 to 1987 alone, the per capita income dropped from \$800 to \$380. It is hard to assess the extent of the crisis effected by such a drop in income of one society. The crisis in other African countries is even worse. This being the case, as estimated by the World Bank and other organizations, by 1990, the per capita income of many African countries, it is believed, will fall to less than it was at the time of independence in the 1960's.

The horizon of progress of Latin American countries is one which does not show many encouraging images. Even in these countries, the economic situation shows economic decline, not progress. According to the UN Economic Commission for Latin America, it is estimated that the per capita income of the continent by 1990 will be lower than it was in 1980. In general, the economic growth of Africa has regressed by 30 years and that of Latin America by 10 years.

As can be recognized from this decline in the developing countries, problems such as poverty, or the signs of poverty—unemployment, housing, and so on—instead of improving, have worsened. Moreover, in many African countries, schools, medical institutions, and so on, are being closed down. Factories and production establishments cannot produce to full capacity because of the foreign exchange shortage.

Since the economic activity in this sector has deteriorated, many countries in Africa are unable to pay their nationals salaries and wages. The economic condition of Latin American countries, although not as bad as that of Africa, is worrisome. Viewed in general, it will not be an exaggeration to say that the economic growth of the developing countries is more in the dark than at any time before.

The main cause of the deterioration in the development of African and Latin American countries is the fall in the prices of raw materials produced by developing countries, whereas those of technological products are increasing in the world market. The other basic cause of the economic decline of the developing countries is the debt burden these countries owe to the developed countries. This fall in prices and the debt burden, which can be seen in the world economy, have been a heavy burden on our development efforts, particularly when they are combined with the other obstacles to development that we face.

There is no doubt that these basic problems have to a large extent impeded our development. It is undeniable that, besides these problems, there are other weaknesses within ourselves which have impeded our economic development. We should particularly ask how far the

organization and administration of the economy have been conducive for the acceleration of our development.

While we know the problems of increasing production, have we fully utilized our capacity to produce with the means at our disposal? What are the operational weaknesses which have impeded this? These and several other questions, which can be raised in connection with economic administration, should be tackled. It is necessary to clarify the situation appropriately, in trying to understand and solve these problems.

It is well-known that in our present economy, the state, the cooperative, and the private economic sectors exist side by side. When we examine the share of these economic sectors in the national economy, we see that the share of the state and cooperative sectors is 35 percent, while the share of the private sector can reach 65 percent. In the agricultural sector, which accounts for the greater share of our national economy, state and cooperative holdings are 10 percent, while the private is 90 percent.

As stated in our report to the WPE Central Committee ninth ordinary session, our neglect of the private sector, which has the greater share in the national economy, has greatly influenced our general economic growth. It is very clear that the farmers' inability to utilize the land fully due to lack of confidence and stability has a great impact on production.

One of our weaknesses has also arisen out of the fact that the private sector was not given sufficient guidelines which could be appropriately and permanently applied. When we examine the state economic sector, we find strengths and weaknesses. It is known that quite a few production, distribution, and service establishments were confiscated at the outset of the revolution. Not only were there many of these, but if we consider them in light of the capital they represent and the number of workers they employ, they actually form the largest sector of the economy.

Over the past 15 years we have made immense efforts to strengthen the state economic sector, but how healthy is it? This is a question asked by many. We can say that our experience in this respect differs considerably from that of most developing countries at a stage of development equivalent to ours. The profitability and productivity of most of our state-controlled organizations have been satisfactory. Banks, insurance companies, electricity companies, telecommunications, many of our industries, communication networks, and other state-controlled organizations have given us complete satisfaction. Specifically, if we compare the profitability and productivity of the banks, airlines, and sugar factories with their equivalents in countries at a stage of development similar to ours, the former have done better. The annual profit of more than 600 million birr we earn is clear indication of the role of these economic organizations.

On the other hand, it is known that a number of organizations have been incurring losses from time to

time, and have been suffering as the result of inefficiency and irregularities. Moreover, it is clear that the management of property in state-controlled organizations has been subject to mismanagement and embezzlement. Work discipline is unsatisfactory.

The cooperative sector has exhibited both encouraging and disappointing phenomena. Those cooperatives which were well-established at the outset have been efficient and reached a high level, clearly indicating that they can perform an important role in bringing change to the rural areas. Although there are such cooperatives, which give high hopes, many others are not well-run. Inasmuch as they were not established with confidence and free will, they are defective in terms of organization, operation, management, and production specialization. Thus, their level of productivity hardly exceeds that of the individual farmer. This is why the number of cooperatives established has fallen, and in 1989 some were dissolved in some areas. As in the case of the state sector, the cooperatives sector has been manifestly subject to property mismanagement and embezzlement. Specifically, weak work discipline has been the main cause for the weakness of cooperatives.

In addition to the aforementioned problems, the economy suffers from many problems arising from planning and administration. Such problems have, of course, accrued from the low level of our overall development. However, in a system where the bulk of the economy is state-controlled, problems arising from inefficient management and administration can do enormous harm to society.

In all our Central Committee meetings, we have never failed to discuss our social development problems and we have never concluded those meetings without adopting plans and guidelines to ease the problems. At the ninth Central Committee meeting, we particularly examined the general economic activities in our country and adopted resolutions to encourage the development and increased participation of the private sector and render the state economic sector more profitable and productive. Rules and regulations to govern the implementation of the resolutions adopted in these respects are being drafted. We have accordingly been assessing the level of our social development and have been working on plans and programs to expedite our progress.

Although the wishes of our society form the basis of planning at all times, there are also two basic factors which perform a decisive role. The first is the concrete situation in our country, and the second, the changing regional and international situation. Thus, situations alternately supporting or impeding our efforts in relation to what we have been doing over the past years for the development of our country and the improvement of the life of our society have been occurring. We have tried to assess each according to merit. However, generally speaking, it is hard to say whether we have satisfactorily assessed our current level of development or our concrete situation. It would seem that any work done with

the best of intentions can be flawed. A factor which at one time serves greatly to enhance the performance of the productive forces can, at another, become an obstacle to development. What has to be done is that, after assessing the nature of the prevailing concrete situation, steps must be taken appropriate to effecting the enhancement of development.

It is clear to us all that in the light of the various political trends in the world today, we are in differing situations. It is true that situations can no longer be predicted as they used to be. Very fundamental changes are now taking place in the world. The beliefs and outlooks as regards social development held formerly are being changed. In conclusion, today's world is no longer what it was when we charted out the direction of progress 15 years ago.

Inasmuch as our progress is interrelated with the rest of the world, in assessing the direction of social progress, we must give due consideration to the changed situation. In particular as countries such as ours, which are at a low-level stage of development backed by the cooperation we receive from developed countries, giving great attention to the changes going on at the international level is ineluctable. Our people are part and parcel of the international community, so we must ensure our path of progress is in harmony with the present outlook of (?society). It is essential to take into consideration the concrete conditions on the one hand and the international situation on the other and map out afresh what suits our country and people.

No development plan can be permanent. It is subject to change according to changing external and internal conditions. Generally speaking, plans should be made in conformity with the realities existing in the country if the plans are to bear fruit when implemented. What works at a given time and place need not necessarily work under different circumstances. In the process of social development, reform is a constant concomitant and should be so. One basic thing we have learned from our experience is that at no place nor time is there an all-around and comprehensive social development formula or model [preceding three words in English]. Therefore, what we should give more attention to in our future plans is due consideration for our identity, culture, history, and the special character of the region in which we live. Our experience dictates that we must consider all these factors in our future endeavors.

Our best course today is to adopt what is most appropriate of the existing international realities, while increasing our efforts to develop what we have. To approach reality in this manner demands boldness, determination, and wisdom. As we wage the struggle for the advancement of our society in development, I believe we have the ability to identify what is demanded of us in this respect.

Dear comrades: I believe we have fully grasped the nature of the problems we encountered in the process of

our development. In addition to our own experience, the situation of highly-developed, socialist countries can assist us in our present situation. As we witness everywhere, it has become difficult to arrive at a socialist system through a national democratic program. So where and how do we go from here? To make the right choice, there is no doubt in this case that we should be guided by our present stage of development and what it reflects and by our society's level of consciousness. Our past weaknesses indicate that we should recognize this basic fact. The need also to examine the international situation does not require further elaboration. When we view our stage of development in the light of these factors, it is not hard to recognize that a transition to socialism or capitalism is a long-term process.

In a country where market forces are only minimally developed and most producers are at the small-scale level, developmental planning must primarily consider ways of lifting the country out of backwardness. The struggle to overcome backwardness requires not only the private and joint efforts of investors, but the joint efforts of the government and individuals in terms of labor, knowledge, and capital.

Moreover the struggle to end backwardness involves inviting foreign capital to participate in various ways. As we can see from the experiences of many developing countries, it is not easy to achieve progress despite all the efforts made. It has accordingly been proposed that our new economic direction, as in the case of other developing countries, be a mixed economy [preceding two words in English] based on government, private, and cooperative ownership. In this type of mixed economy the government will directly participate in leading the development process.

In this respect, the government's role will be one of providing support for the national economy and promoting and providing leadership in strategic areas to expand the technology essential to the country's continued progress as well as to the production of consumer goods for our society. The main reason for continued government participation is the absence of strong forces capable of generating the capital required to effect economic progress. In any developing country facing such a concrete problem, the government will have to have a (?clear) share in the economy. Even in countries which have reached a higher level of progress, government production organizations introduce new technologies conducive to the promotion of the national economy or by developing new areas perform a vanguard role by [words indistinct] the private or collective sectors. This is why direct government participation is essential to our economic progress.

However, regarding work systems and management, basic changes will be made. From now on, the work system of government organizations will be based on competitiveness, [word indistinct], and productivity. To effect this, government organizations will be given management autonomy [preceding two words in English] or

relative administrative freedom. In order to avoid the existence of large numbers of unprofitable organizations serving to weaken the government's performance, such organizations which cannot be improved by means of administrative measures will be put on contract or sold to cooperatives, private organizations, or individuals. If these alternatives fail, conditions obliging them to close down can be created.

The other participant of the mixed economy is the private owner of property. One of the main objectives of this economic policy is to support and create conditions and support small-scale producers to enable them to become more productive. Accordingly, from now on, the private sector will be fully encouraged and strengthened. Under our new economic policy, every Ethiopian citizen will be able to engage in any sphere, without capital limitation, on his own, with partners, or in share companies. Therefore, the private owner will be able to work in the industrial, agricultural, mining, communications, trade, and other spheres side by side with government organizations and cooperatives.

In the agricultural sphere, for various reasons, the ownership of land by the government will continue. However, the right of individuals to use land will be guaranteed by law. This being the case, the land of no private peasant—unless it be by law under a court ruling or by virtue of his own wishes—can be transferred to anyone. The problems thrust upon the peasantry in this respect over the past years will not be repeated. However, the authority to administer land will rest with the government. Private peasants will plant crops on their land and the trees they tend on that land will be their own property. Private peasants can employ workers on their farms. They can also bequeath their land to legal heirs who live by farming.

In peasants' cooperatives, apart from the areas allocated for forestry and grazing, the land will be administered by the government. The government can allocate land to the landless or utilize it in any other way. The land allocated for forestry and grazing in the peasants' cooperatives will be administered by the cooperatives themselves.

Another aspect of private participation in agriculture will embrace private investors able to establish large-scale modern farms. The participation of these private investors will be on lands [words indistinct] of peasants on a contract basis in the form of a concession [preceding word in English].

In the trade sectors, private owners will work side by side with government trade organizations in the agricultural, industrial goods, and import-export trade. In particular, in the marketing of staples, from now on exchanges will be effected on the basis of free market prices and, subject to the decision of this Central Committee, the system of staples (?check-points) and quotas will be abolished. The agricultural marketing corporation, a government trade organization, will be made to work on the free market.

Private owners, free of all capital limitation, can also build residential houses, production and service establishments and offices and dispose of them for rent, sale, or contract.

The above-mentioned sectors have been defined to specify the future trend. The private sector will, without limitation, in accordance with what has been stated earlier, be entitled to participate in all other sectors. Conditions will be created to encourage and support private owners to create new and additional production capability. In the spirit of strengthening the participation of the private owners of property, the income tax currently applicable will be adjusted to permit an appropriate amount of profit. These and other forms of encouragement will render private ownership profitable, create additional production capability, increase government revenue, and stimulate the country's economic growth.

The third aspect of the mixed economy concerns the cooperatives. Once the private sector begins to expand, some might ask: Why do we still need this path of progress? In view of our experience, is there anything to be gained by persevering with it? There are quite a few people who say we copied the cooperatives directly from the socialist countries and imposed a model incompatible with our country. Above all, there are also some who say it was something brought in to harm rather than benefit compatriots. These are anti-unity views.

It is known that the system of cooperatives has been practiced since ancient times, particularly in agriculture, under the nomenclature of Wenfel, Debo, Sikie, and Guzo [all meaning communal work]. It is also worth noting that cooperatives existed in pre-revolutionary Ethiopia, such as today's service cooperatives and others such as credit and savings cooperatives. According to the decree on cooperatives issued in the pre-revolution period, in 1965 and 1966, cooperatives were established in areas where coffee, sesame, and other cash crops were being produced. Credit and saving cooperatives were established in the Ethiopian airlines, Ethiopian roads authorities, telecommunications, and other modern organizations. Historically, cooperatives were first established under the capitalist system. Basically cooperatives performing development tasks and services useful to individuals should not be described as being characteristic of this or that country or this or that system. It is true that the task of cooperative structures and organizations could differ as a result of certain conditions. The organization, management, work system, or (?payments) of cooperatives differ in accordance with the path of progress followed by a given country.

It is noteworthy that variously structured cooperatives have contributed positively to economic activities be they in the East, West, or developing countries, for example in the UK, United States, Sweden, or other countries which are developed, and even in developing countries. Our country is not and will not be different in

this regard. Today, in order to enable small-scale producers engaged in handicrafts, agriculture, cottage and small-scale industries to expand production, organizing them in cooperatives is very beneficial. They represent sectors which should be encouraged and expanded. However, the strategy of organizing them in all its forms and in the light of the problems they face might make possible or necessitate the taking of different steps.

Cooperatives will be organized in accordance with decisions made in a completely democratic manner, and the cooperatives will be run in such a way as to abolish the indiscipline seen at present. A directive to govern the reorganizing of cooperatives will be prepared along proper lines to enable the former cooperatives to resolve their problems. They will be strengthened and members will be able to earn better incomes. However, if during such a process the members of any cooperative find their organization to be of no use or if they remain unconvinced, we would like to confirm that they can decide democratically [word indistinct] to dissolve their cooperative and work privately. We have had no desire or intention to impose anything on people against their wishes.

Foreign economic relations adjusted to the new economic policy will be entered into with all countries and international organizations based on equal and mutual benefits. This will be directed in a such a manner as to contribute toward investment, trade, loans, aid and technology transfer.

One aspect affecting foreign economic relations to which great attention is paid is that of encouraging the inflow of foreign capital to the country for individual or collective development. In light of our proclamation on collective development (?of today), there will be an improvement whereby foreign capitalists will establish collective development in cooperation with Ethiopian owners of private property. In general, the new economic policy will be administered on the basis of the principles of a mixed economy.

The application of these principles will serve to expedite the growth of the productive forces of such an economy and bring about the coordination of effective economic and administrative methods. The types of ownership embraced by the mixed economy will accordingly be collectively governed by planning and market principles enabling them to contribute to economic growth. However, in areas where productive forces and economic and social infrastructures have not yet developed it is clear that it would be difficult to apply the market principle fully to the economy.

On the other hand, where there is a mixture of various types of ownership, trying to direct the economy solely by means of planning will not succeed. Accordingly, to direct a mixed economy properly, the need for a national plan reflecting the general principles of planning and market is unquestionable. The national plan will apply to the government's areas of participation in production

and services and direct the investment needed for production and services. Administrative and economic methods to be used for applying the plan to this sector could be devised as requirements dictate.

Giving management autonomy of action in conjunction with the application of market principles entails the application of care and attention to ensure on the one hand that government, private, and cooperative ownership engage in positive competition to achieve progress, and they complement one another in the promotion of the national economy on the other hand.

Private, cooperative, and other forms of ownership will be directed by means of relevant plans. Economic progress under these types of ownership will serve to effect economic generation, distribution, exchange, consumption, and (?allocation) of capital.

I have attempted briefly to outline the chief aspects of the new economic policy. We believe the policy is in harmony with our developmental stage and with the trend of [word indistinct] economic progress. Our new economic policy will embrace all sectors which have not so far fully participated in our development efforts. We therefore believe the policy will not only contribute to the country's progress but also toward preserving its unity. Enabling all these sectors to contribute to expediting economic progress without limitations will by itself bring about many changes. The most important need is for all [word indistinct] be convinced by the new trend and for them to cooperate, work hard, and support one another in order to preserve Ethiopian unity and create one great Ethiopia. There is accordingly also a need to tighten belts and to work hard to expedite economic progress. At this decisive moment when our country's unity is in great danger, all forces engaged in production and service spheres, directors, private owners and working people, should recognize that their daily activity will make a direct contribution towards preserving our country's unity.

Comrades: Now that we have reached the eve of the 21st century, scientific and technological advances have given the world great advantages, and the tasks of production and economic activities have become more international than ever before. International relations have accordingly expanded and are ever changing. Setting up camps and deepening tension will, it is believed, lead the world to total destruction; and thus, more substantial efforts are being made towards rapprochement, easing tension, and expanding cooperation for the security of the entire human race.

It is known that changed international events and trends of change which bring great pressures to bear on the bases of the character of relations and (?cooperation) between countries are being witnessed and are affecting the processes and trends of progress in many countries both positively and negatively. In this context, the idea that relations between countries should not be based on

balances of power, but on a spirit of peaceful competition and preservation of mutual benefits with political relations free from pressures induced by ideological differences has become widely accepted. This being the case, relations between the two camps are undergoing many changes. Moreover, efforts to resolve various regional conflicts by political and peaceful means are getting prime priority. Now that the trend of rapprochement in international relations by means of discussions and negotiations is advancing apace, cooperation in the economic, trade, cultural, scientific, technological, and tourism spheres between the two superpowers and between the socialist and capitalist countries in general is also making rapid progress.

Although the speed, results, and complexity of the changes vary from country to country, it is possible to distinguish trends with aspects in common and which concern everyone. In our African Continent in particular, the liberation of Namibia from the illegal apartheid rule of South Africa and the establishment of a free government representing the Namibian people; the unbanning of the democratic organizations which have been fighting for freedom in South Africa; the release of Nelson Mandela and other South African freedom fighters; the new situation conducive to negotiations; and the other new international trends can be regarded as part and parcel of the current process of international change. Thus, it is clear that great efforts have been made to effect improved international relations.

Generally speaking, and with particular reference to the current situation in socialist countries which are in the process of change, changes in international relations have been clearly seen. As matters stand, East-West relations are no longer affected by extreme tension. The elimination of the tension, it is believed, will serve further to guarantee world peace.

However, whereas international relations have been greatly transformed, the situation in the developing countries, as I mentioned earlier, continues to arouse anxiety. The situation in those countries is not or cannot be free of problems. In terms of economic progress in particular, these countries are in an (ugly) situation. In particular, mutual support among them is limited, a trend reflected in their efforts to seek friendship with this or that camp. This is a state of affairs which has confused most of us. At a time when a trend permitting everyone to interact in a spirit of mutual benefits has been prevailing, the position of the developing countries is not or does not look relaxing. All developing countries must therefore not only try to respond to the climate of international relations, but also to cooperate with each other. Although they are at a low economic ebb, we are convinced that if they cooperate, they will be able to gain political muscle and become strong competitors. We call on them to forge ahead.

General relations between the West and the East and the developing countries are not as they were before. A new

situation affecting relations and diplomacy is everywhere apparent, and differing strategies and trends affecting progress are being seen clearly. In light of all this, and so that our country can cooperate to bring about mutual benefits and contribute its share toward the preservation of world peace by taking its rightful place, our country must act to improve its policy of international relations in view of the current situation.

It is known that we chose socialism as the ultimate goal of our progress with the support of the people. We hoped we would be able to transform our country by achieving a better stage of progress in a short period of time, particularly with sound support from socialist countries on the basis of unity of purpose. However, as I mentioned earlier and as is known, socialist countries are undergoing a process of change, and international relations in general have undergone great changes. Accordingly, inasmuch as no situation is going to continue as before, adjusting our country's international relations to conform with the changing situation has become a primary need. The Politburo has accordingly proposed that our country's international relations policy be based on cooperation with countries for mutual benefit and peace, respect for the charters of the UN, OAU, and the principles of the Nonaligned Movement, and, in general, on cooperation with all democratic, peace-loving, and progressive social forces.

Comrades, in our historic struggle to liberate society from the backward feudal system, the one political task to which we gave priority was that of establishing a political leadership capable of coordinating the entire Ethiopian people. A strategy was drawn up in this respect, particularly in 1968 [Ethiopian calendar, 1975-76], when the democratic character of our national revolution was clearly defined in the form of an official program which announced that the various political organizations could participate.

As we recall, however, during the first five to six years of our revolution, the political organizations emerging at the time, instead of coordinating positively and competing peacefully and democratically in the interests of the country, in most cases set about stirring up unnecessary problems. Although it cannot be said that none of them made any constructive contributions, for the most part they indulged in working against each other, doing very considerable social damage in the process. The struggle strategy of some of these organizations was to gain superiority, using methods including that of force. This internecine strife between the organizations coincided with the time when our country's existence was under threat from foreign aggression, in consequence of which we faced great problems on the battlefield. This is something which cannot be forgotten. The damage done in the towns and cities by the desperate assassination campaign waged with the idea of seizing power by means of armed struggle on the one hand, and the struggle waged to counter that campaign on the other hand is well-known to the people. The sad situation occurring in

a single family, with one member being in one organization and the other in another, regarding each other as mortal enemies, is one of society's memories of the recent past.

In response, then, to bitter appeals from many compatriots to be rid of that situation and for an end to be put to the killing of innocent citizens in the struggle waged by the organizations and to restore unity and peace, the commission for organizing the Party of the Working People of Ethiopia, COPWE, was established, a measure known to have received great popular support. It is a fact that after the formation of COPWE—except in the case of those who chose to try to bring their ambitions to realization by fighting in the bush—peace was restored throughout the country.

As part of the same process, the Workers' Party of Ethiopia, the WPE, was established and has since been trying to expedite our country's progress in the context of the internal and international situations. These efforts enjoyed the support and participation of the majority of the people in the belief that they would assure the equality of citizens and lead our country towards justice and prosperity. But as I said in the first part of this report, we are now in a different situation. In assessing the objective conditions and the international situation, we find their general character changed and hence requiring a different (?presentation). It is believed that this new (?presentation) should be able to imbue the country's social sections and classes with the spirit of one Ethiopia. At the international level, it is recognized that relations should be based on mutual benefits and the new spirit of peace.

In view of the new policies geared to the economic system and international relations, the WPE must change in content, character, and name. The trend of these changes will in particular serve to (?encompass) all social sections and classes on the basis of the Ethiopian people's democratic unity. This means not saying that one is a member of this or that class, of this or that society, or that one follows this or that ideology, but a situation in which all citizens working toward Ethiopian unity—I repeat: All those who genuinely work toward Ethiopian unity and who progress and struggle to effect its realization—will be represented on the basis of collective objectives.

Regarding the trend in terms of objectives and practical deeds, the party will have a doctrine, program [preceding two words in English], or a similar document which should be comprised of the outlook and (?action plan), and the members of the party need not necessarily be followers of a particular ideology. This party, having a broad popular base, should be structured in conformity with the aforesaid content and character and in the spirit of the representation of our entire society to work above all for our country's well-being and progress, and for the democratic life of citizens and humanity as a whole.

In view of this party's objectives and character, the Political Bureau has proposed that its name be the Ethiopian Democratic Unionist Party and that its (?content) and objectives be democratically discussed and decisions arrived at in response to the wishes of the people. Opposition groups should also come in as organizations under the umbrella of Ethiopian democratic unity, doing so by means of peaceful talks to be reported on to the Ethiopian people and in response to the wishes and decisions of the people, thus giving them the chance by which they will be able to participate in the country's politics.

Dear members of the Central Committee: During the past years of revolution, it is believed that in addition to acting to preserve our country's unity, various efforts were made to accomplish many basic tasks in the economic, political, and social spheres with a view to achieving social progress. An attempt to give a brief outline of those efforts was made earlier on.

My purpose in standing here today before the party and the entire Ethiopian people is not to lay down what is best, but to present the assessment of and proposals for social progress arrived at by the Politburo, which has said which aspect has been good and which aspect is bad and, accordingly, what will be better, and this requires the balanced (?estimation) of the people. It is no longer the case today, as it was under the feudal regime when the Ethiopian people's spirit was repressed and they were obliged to obey those who told them they knew what was best for them. That was the situation we strove to change. Now, the Ethiopian people can think in depth, adopt views, and decide what is fair and what is unfair. Today, imbued with a new spirit and outlook, proud of their citizenship and able to help themselves, all citizens are expected to do their duty to their compatriots and country. It is no longer a time when the narrow-minded can dictate their wishes and interests. It is no longer a time when enemies can distort, saying that [word indistinct] opposes Ethiopia's progress and (?greatness). We must accordingly examine ourselves deeply and cast our minds back in this regard.

The compatriots calling themselves Sha'biyyah, Weyane, and other names, who have shed Ethiopia's blood, and some citizens who are full of hatred for various personal and ephemeral reasons, should think deeply and reach the realization that they will not benefit from the disintegration of Ethiopia. They should think seriously and sanely.

Ethiopia, of course, is an ancient country and an ancient state, a situation we arrived at, like any other country, by undergoing many ups and downs of history. There is no single force or group here at present in the land of Ethiopia, having come from a foreign country to impose itself by force or as a colonial ruler. All of us here in our nationalities, beliefs, and other aspects are in general Ethiopians. Just as elsewhere in the world and its various countries, we have in the past fought each other, inter-related, intermarried, helped and caused each other

losses, and have experienced sad and happy times. Like all other peoples, we have experienced all this up to the present day.

At this time of advanced progress, many countries and peoples are bent on forging ahead. What occupies them is better living standards and peace. In our case, however, we are not thinking about forging ahead, but retreating along tribal and territorial lines. We are not seeking peace and better living standards, but terror and extermination. Accordingly, the energy and time thus wasted, the lives and property lost is a very sad and shameful state of affairs—very sad and very shameful. Many losses were incurred when conspirators plotted against each other and collaborated with foreigners to liquidate their own compatriots. Many lives were lost and blood shed when one side attacked and the other defended its single united motherland.

Our country, Ethiopia, which has been the most exemplary country in Africa in terms of its independence and giving refuge to liberation fighters, is now, strangely enough, threatening its own existence and independence. Today, when a situation has arisen to permit the developed world to make even higher technological and scientific achievements, when positive relations have expanded, when there is progress towards sharing the wealth of the world and even that of space, why are we (?fighting) each other along tribal and territorial lines in the face of the world's new historical situation?

Is it right for us to spend all our time saying this tribe should (?defeat) the other, make ready our weapons, and continue killing brothers to make more blood feuds? Is this heroism? Does it benefit individuals, families, or nationalities? We have virgin lands endowed with natural resources. Experts say Ethiopia is able not only to become self-sufficient, but the region's bread basket. But here we are, fighting each other. For how long will others give us charity in the form of food and used clothing? For how long will they laugh at us, make jokes about us and (?look down) on us? For how long will the name Ethiopia remain associated with charity? Instead of importing knowledge and technology for the country's development to benefit compatriots, for how much longer will guns and explosives be imported with which to dismember the country? For how much longer will numerous compatriots have to languish in exile due to our country's problem of peace and survival?

What we have done to preserve our existence and safeguard our independence has, of course, been a source of pride and of our special identity since ancient times. However, unless making sacrifices for our existence and effecting our independence have a bearing on our country's progress and on raising the living standards of its people, none of those efforts can be meaningful. We must act to preserve our independence and achieve peace in order to produce, raise our living standards, free our children from misery, and see to it that they for their part build a better Ethiopia and pass it on to the coming generation.

The problems besetting these efforts are not only internal: The conspiracies hatched abroad have severely damaged us. The basic reason for this is that it is said: If Ethiopians get peace, they will focus on development; they will exploit their natural resources; if they do that, our interests will not be served; they will become strong all around and strong opponents to us in the region; therefore, if we are to preserve our interests, we cannot permit a strengthened Ethiopia, we cannot afford to create another opponent in the region; the solution is to make them fight each other and live in a state of war.

The reason for attracting this type of attitude and the attacks made on us is not because we chose this or that political system, but our sole wish to bring about a strong Ethiopia whose independence is safeguarded and honored.

Of course, there is no country in the world today which developed and progressed in isolation. We are accordingly ready to cooperate with any country who wishes to do so for mutual benefits. We are willing to work together and supplement and benefit each other on the basis of international law. Beyond this, we wish ourselves and others peace and prosperity [words indistinct] supplying guns and explosives to go on fighting each other is not legal, humane, or peaceful and will harm all of us. No one can be a winner or a loser in this. There can be no peace if one is dragged to destruction. In the context of the world's new outlook, we appeal for and expect good faith for the sake of the security of all. We wish all sides to understand this.

Comrades, as I tried to explain earlier, the process of social progress is very complex. It cannot be copied from others and easily implemented. This is not our only problem. In the economic, political, and social spheres, we lack knowledge and (?manpower) expertise. In some areas we suffer not only from lack of goodwill but from the problems of what sections should be beneficiaries, of how to speak frankly to the people so that they can understand their rights and act to preserve them. Above all, there is the enemy's distortion campaign, which has prevented situations from being properly and correctly assessed and the necessary corrective steps taken. This has done us a lot of damage. We must consider all these factors in our efforts to reconstruct our country in a modern way.

Strategies for social progress are devised and implemented on the basis of historical events. In view of the political phenomenon so clearly emerging in the world, it has become necessary to reassess the situation in our country and to chart out an improved strategy to govern our progress. This will be done in the manner our people decide.

We know that various sides have differing ideas on our country's progress. When these concepts are viewed overall, they fall into two categories. The first category blames all (?shortcomings) and problems on the government and expects none but the government to solve

them. The second category insists that free competition should prevail in the absence of social justice, or, in other words, compatriots who by chance become educated and become property owners should be entitled to exploit, oppress, and profit, no holds barred. In the light of the concrete situation in our country and the aims for which we have died and shed our blood, neither of these two widely diverging trends can be applied if we are to progress with justice. Instead of burdening the government with disproportionately heavy responsibilities and expecting results beyond its capabilities, or inviting competition which cannot accrue balanced benefits, we must evolve a humane mixed economy wherein every individual will be able to work according to his capability and knowledge and get what he or she deserves. In this spirit and in accordance with what was stated earlier at length, the situation will be improved and organized. The content, mission, and name of our party will be changed and its organization undertaken on the basis of what the people decide as regards what has been proposed.

With these concrete steps and other efforts, the political, economic, and social system will be adjusted in such a way that it will reap benefits for the entire people of Ethiopia more than ever before. Everything will be done in a balanced manner and without any (?conditions). To ensure that our country's unity and independence are preserved and the equality and prosperity of its citizens ensured, all Ethiopians will emerge from the former harmful situation and make constructive objectives a reality. Above all, they will practically move in a new spirit, thus ensuring our motherland's unity will not be destabilized. [Words indistinct] above all, it is only so long as the country and people exist that we shall be able to go ahead on national issues based on the people's wishes and interests. Every citizen, each according to his abilities, should contribute his share towards his rights and love for his country.

No part of our country will get peace while the existence of Ethiopia remains under threat. Therefore, our only option is farsightedly to give our attention to our survival by making efforts to solve our common problems. The permanent and decisive factor essential to our country's peace and progress are the people themselves. Therefore, their decisions and actions are quintessential to their ability to perform their historic role of achieving progress and lasting prosperity.

In view of the above, all compatriots who believe in struggling for the cause of the people in all directions, being free [word indistinct] feeling and beyond temporary [word indistinct] will make balanced suggestions, be they strong or weak. They will decide the question of the day posed us by history. The people's response to this question will either become a great victory or a great defeat. I would like to speak about this clearly. It is strongly believed that our response should be constructive, one which will enable this generation and the next to benefit and feel proud. A national cause can only be pursued on the basis of the people's interests and wishes,

particularly when it relates to guaranteeing the continued existence of our country. Therefore, I strongly urge the citizens not be out-manuevered by the enemy.

We wish to stress that we are proud of the commitment to the country and compatriots on the part of the Ethiopian Army, people's militia, and others who are unhesitatingly repulsing the attacks against the country's existence and making persistent sacrifices on the battlefield, as well as other genuine Ethiopians who make direct or indirect contributions to this cause. I say that all genuine citizens should demonstrate in word and deed that we are on their side.

Ethiopia first. Thank you. [applause]

Foreign Minister Returns From USSR Visit

EA0903175590 Addis Ababa in English to Neighboring Countries 1530 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] A delegation led by Comrade Tesfaye Dinka, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the WPE [Workers' Party of Ethiopia], deputy prime minister, minister of foreign affairs, returned to Addis Ababa today concluding its working visit to the Soviet Union. In a statement he gave upon his arrival, Comrade Tesfaye said the delegation had held talks with Comrade Eduard Shevardnadze, minister of foreign affairs of the Soviet Union, on the longstanding friendly relations between the two countries. The talks with the Soviet foreign minister also centered on regional and international issues, as well as the situation in northern Ethiopia.

Comrade Tesfaye said the Ethiopian delegation had explained to the Soviet foreign minister the efforts that Ethiopian Government was making to solve the problem in the northern part of the country peacefully. The Ethiopian delegation also explained to its Soviet counterpart the support extended by the Ethiopian people to the new political and economic policy issued by the Central Committee of the WPE to shape the future direction of the country.

Nelson Mandela Addresses OAU Representatives

EA1003071490 Nairobi KNA in English 1730 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] Addis Ababa, 9 March (PANA)—Continuing with his political safari, the deputy president of the ANC [African National Congress], Mr. Nelson Mandela, has thanked OAU member states from urging relentless campaign for his release and dismantling of apartheid regime in South Africa. Addressing African ambassadors in Addis Ababa this morning, Mr. Mandela said he had come to Ethiopia to pay a courtesy call to a country of which he had a very special attachment. It is in Ethiopia that I received my military training before [words indistinct] in 1962, he said.

Mr. Mandela arrived in Addis Ababa yesterday evening for a two-day visit from Tanzania.

Speaking from the same podium from which many African heads of state have relentlessly called for his release since the inception of the OAU, Mr. Mandela said he had come to Addis Ababa to pay a courtesy call on the headquarters of the OAU, whose member countries, despite their economic hardships, had given much support to the struggling people of South Africa. He told the ambassadors to tighten the struggle on the apartheid regime in South Africa until it is eradicated.

Mr. Mandela described the South Africa President Mr. Frederik de Klerk as a man of integrity whose reforms could go far if he was assured of the support from the National Party. However, Mr. Mandela declared, our struggle is influenced by policies of the National Party and there is no question of changing our policy, and we are not guided by the fact that President de Klerk is a man of integrity or not. I have come out of jail and still I have no vote, he said. Mr. Mandela said the ANC stood for a united nonracial South Africa. We regard the people of South Africa as Africans as they are entitled to determine their own future, he said.

He called for support from the African countries in the struggle that lies ahead to free South Africa. We have waited for so long for our freedom, for our own homecoming. We have our people in exile in Africa, Europe, and the Americas. They have suffered so much, he said.

Mr. Mandela, accompanied by his wife, Winnie, the secretary general of the OAU, Dr. Salim Ahmed Salim and executive secretary of the [UN] Economic Commission For Africa, Dr. Adebayo Adedeji, received thunderous welcome when he entered Africa Hall to address the ambassadors.

Departs for Dar es Salaam 9 Mar

EA1003071990 Addis Ababa in English to Neighboring Countries 1530 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Comrade Nelson Mandela has said that Ethiopia had won the respect and love of the people of South Africa because of the support it gives to South African freedom fighters as well as to freedom fighters in other parts of the continent. Comrade Mandela, vice president [as heard] of the ANC [African National Congress], made the statement yesterday at a ceremony in which President Mengistu Haile Mariam decorated him with the Order of Africa, First Rank, based on the decision of the Council of State of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. The decoration was made in recognition of the heroic struggle waged by Comrade Mandela against the apartheid system in South Africa and for the freedom of the African people there from racist oppression.

In a statement at the ceremony last night, Comrade Mandela expressed confidence that the struggle waged by the people of South Africa with the support of countries which stand for freedom and peace would be crowned with total success since the freedom fighters would not cease their struggle until ultimate victory is attained.

Comrade President Mengistu assured Comrade Mandela of the firm stand of Ethiopia in support of the freedom fighters in South Africa and called on all peace-loving peoples to extend wholehearted support through the ANC.

Comrade Nelson Mandela, vice president of the ANC, and his wife, Comrade Winnie Mandela, left Addis Ababa today for Dar es Salaam concluding the brief visit to Ethiopia. [passage omitted]

Marx, Lenin Portraits Removed in Addis Ababa

*AB1003085890 Paris AFP in English 0833 GMT
10 Mar 90*

[Text] Addis Ababa, March 10 (AFP)—The huge portraits of Marx, Engels and Lenin dominating this Ethiopian capital's Revolution Square were removed overnight as a further sign that the country was finally bidding farewell to its Marxist past. The removal of what was derisively dubbed "the trinity" in a square once dedicated to commemorating the Ethiopian Orthodox festival of the Epiphany is certain to lead to the dismantling of the troika's presence across the country.

The portraits have been standard on posters splashed in office buildings, on street bunting and all administrative facilities in every city, town or village for the past 15 years. At Revolution Square Saturday [10 March], passersby were gawking in complete astonishment that so fundamental a symbol of the Ethiopian revolution could disappear almost at a stroke. Only the frames bearing the portraits of Ethiopian leader Mengistu Haile Mariam, and another of the party and Ethiopian flags were still in place. Additionally, the word "wozaderawi", meaning proletarian in Amharic, was partially removed from the slogan "Long Live Proletarian Internationalism", on an arch at Revolution Square.

It was not clear who actually removed the portraits but night watchmen reported seeing workers at the site Friday night. The moves, remarkable for their swiftness, follow the sweeping policy reforms approved by the ruling workers party Central Committee late Tuesday, that introduced little political change but radical economic reforms.

The party, in a surprise indictment of its own past policies opted for a mixed economy in which state controls would disappear or be relaxed, and in which the private sector would play an "unlimited" role in economic life.

On Wednesday, students of Addis Ababa University demonstrated in the streets, welcoming the changes, and already discarding the red flag that had been a hated symbol of Ethiopia's steady economic decline. Then at a public support rally in the capital on Thursday, only the Ethiopian flag was born aloft by demonstrators, and the clergy carried portraits of Christ and the saints for the first time.

Young men were already joking on Wednesday that the next steps would be dismantling the statue of Lenin astride a square facing both Africa Hall and the National Palace, and another of Marx opposite the main campus of Addis Ababa University at Sidist Kilo. The standing joke for many years was that Lenin's statue, in a marching pose, already faced the international airport, ready to walk out at any moment.

EPLF: Heavy Government Losses in Offensive

EA1003070490 (Clandestine) Voice of the Broad Masses of Eritrea in Tigrinya 1500 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] The heroic Eritrean People's Liberation Front [EPLF] people's army has foiled the enemy actions launched on a (?broad) front since the offensive at Mitsiwa has inflicted losses on the Dergue troops.

The new front starts at Adi Rekez, southeast of Asmera, passes through the Ginda area and reaches Merara, north of Asmera. The enemy has been embarking on desperate activities on this front every day, while the EPLF people's army has been withstanding them with defensive fighting and counteroffensives.

Since the enemy actions are continuing, we are unable to give the details of the fighting on the broad front. However, although we do not yet have complete information on the overall losses of the enemy, it has been learned that the enemy has suffered heavy losses in its suicidal actions.

Kenya

Moi Appoints New Foreign Minister, Others

EA0903163590 Nairobi KNA in English 1430 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] Nairobi, 9 Mar—His Excellency President Daniel arap Moi today made the following appointments: Mr Wilson Ndolo Ayah was appointed the minister for foreign affairs and international co-operation; Mr John Okwanyo, to be the minister for water development; Mr John Kyalo to be a minister of state in the office of the president; and Mr Mathews Onyango Midika to be the minister for regional development.

Tanzania

Mwinyi Requests All Ministers' Resignations 12 Mar

EA1203120690 Dar es Salaam Domestic Service in Swahili 1000 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Dar es Salaam—Today President Ali Hassan Mwinyi requested all ministers to resign in order to give

him a chance to form a new cabinet. A statement from State House said President Mwinyi had requested all the ministers to resign during a special meeting of the Council of Ministers which was held at State House in Dar es Salaam today.

Mwinyi Returns From Gulf Tour; To See Mandela

EA1103135990 Dar es Salaam Domestic Service in Swahili 1000 GMT 11 Mar 90

[Text] Dar es Salaam—The South African nationalist leader, Mr. Nelson Mandela, is today expected to meet President Ali Hassan Mwinyi for talks before his meeting with foreign envoys accredited to Tanzania. President Mwinyi returned home yesterday from a visit to the United Arab Emirates. He also visited Kuwait, Abu Dhabi, and Dubai.

The South African nationalist leader will also visit offices of the OAU Liberation Committee and later in the evening hold a news conference at State House in Dar es Salaam.

Meanwhile, Mrs. Winnie Mandela is scheduled to address women from Dar es Salaam region at the Diamond Jubilee hall this afternoon at a public rally organized by the Tanzania Women's Association.

Mr. Mandela and his wife are due to leave tonight for Stockholm, Sweden, where he will meet the ANC President, Mr. Oliver Tambo, who is receiving treatment there.

Mandela States Conditions for Negotiations

EA1203104090 Dar es Salaam Domestic Service in Swahili 1900 GMT 11 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Dar es Salaam—The South African nationalist leader, Nelson Mandela, has stressed that peace talks between the nationalist leaders and the Boer regime cannot be started until the Boers fulfilled all the conditions set by the African National Congress [ANC]. He told newsmen in Dar es Salaam today that as long as the state of emergency was still being enforced, the South African nationalists will not enter into negotiations to bring about peace in the country.

The deputy president of the ANC, who is due to leave Dar es Salaam tonight for Stockholm, Sweden, at the end of a six-day visit to the country, said that so far President de Klerk has fulfilled only one condition, which is the unbanning of the liberation movements, but he said he was not satisfied with the steps taken to free political detainees because the majority of them are still in jail. The news conference was chaired by the minister of information, Comrade Ahmed Hasan Diria. [passage omitted]

Baker 'Could Visit' Country After Namibia Trip

*MB1003062590 Johannesburg Domestic Service
in English 0500 GMT 10 Mar 90*

[Text] The American secretary of state, Mr. James Baker, could visit South Africa after attending Namibia's independence celebrations later this month. A spokesman for the State Department in Washington, Mrs. Margaret Tutwiler, said although there was no immediate plan for such a visit, it could not be ruled out.

American officials said Mr. Baker could meet President F.W. de Klerk and the deputy president of the ANC [African National Congress], Mr. Nelson Mandela, at the celebrations, which will be held in Windhoek on the 21st of this month.

They said, however, that President de Klerk would prefer Mr. Baker to visit South Africa.

Mrs. Tutwiler has criticized South Africa's policy regarding the national and independent states [words indistinct]. She said the United States was concerned about the serious unrest in what she called two of these states.

Unrest Forces Mandela To Cut Short Swedish Visit

*MB0903171990 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1707 GMT 9 Mar 90*

[Text] London March 9 SAPA—ANC [African National Congress] Deputy President Nelson Mandela would cut short his planned week-long visit to Sweden next Thursday [15 March] because the upsurge in unrest in South Africa's townships and homelands were "calling for his intervention", the African National Congress confirmed from Stockholm on Friday.

ANC spokesman David Kgabang said the organisation and the Swedish Foreign Ministry were busy rescheduling Mr Mandela's itinerary, due to start on Monday, and it was "very difficult to say what will be cut out".

Mr Mandela was due to leave for South Africa again only on the following Saturday (March 17) but "it seems there are problems with the developments in South Africa which are calling for his intervention", Mr Kgabang said.

"We are busy reworking his programme."

Mr Mandela, who will still receive an official welcome in Sweden worthy of a visiting head of state, had an intensive schedule worked out for him earlier this week, with what appeared to be little time for private moments.

Including in his schedule were a mass public rally on Friday, meetings with Swedish and other Scandinavian government leaders, talks with British opposition leader Neil Kinnock, state banquets, and consultations with his organisations overseas leadership.

His prime objective would be to visit ANC President Oliver Tambo, recuperating in a Stockholm clinic after a stroke last August.

Although it was understood the meeting with Mr Kinnock would still go ahead on Wednesday, Mr Kgabang said details of Mr Mandela's rejigged schedule would only be available later in the weekend.

Advised by Doctors To Rest

*MB1103093690 Johannesburg Domestic Service
in English 0900 GMT 11 Mar 90*

[Text] Mr. Nelson Mandela has been advised by doctors to rest.

An ANC [African National Congress] spokesman has confirmed an earlier report that Mr. Mandela, whose schedule since his release from prison a month ago has been hectic, spoke for less than three minutes when he addressed a rally at Morogoro, in Tanzania.

He leaves for Stockholm, Sweden, tonight on the last leg of his tour. Mr. Mandela will visit the ANC president, Mr. Oliver Tambo, who is recovering from a stroke.

Lengthens Planned Swedish Visit

*MB1103193490 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1923 GMT 11 Mar 90*

[By Mark van der Velden]

[Text] Stockholm, March 11, SAPA—The first snow since Christmas was blanketing Stockholm on Sunday [11 March] as the schedule for ANC [African National Congress] Deputy President Nelson Mandela's visit was hastily rearranged—yet again—following news he would after all stay a full week.

On Friday, the ANC here confirmed Mr. Mandela would be cutting short his intensively scheduled Swedish visit to return to South Africa on Thursday.

Spokesman David Kgabang said the rising wave of unrest in South Africa's homelands and townships needed Mr. Mandela's immediate intervention.

Sweden's foreign office released a severely curtailed agenda for Mr. Mandela on Sunday, cutting out a mass rally and a number of other engagements.

Shortly afterwards, however, a spokesman said new information was that Mr. Mandela would instead stay on until Saturday, as originally scheduled, and that the mass rally would still be held.

The ANC and other solidarity groups, who have, in conjunction with the Swedish authorities, prepared a grand reception for Mr. Mandela worthy of a head of state, were due to hold a press conference later in the afternoon.

A rapidly swelling international press and television corps were gathering in Stockholm on Sunday for the

first overseas visit by Mr. Mandela since his release last month after 27 years' imprisonment.

Foreign Ministry officials said they were preparing for an influx of up to 400 journalists.

Sweden, with its Scandinavian neighbours, has been one of the staunchest European supporters of the ANC during the years of its struggle against apartheid, allocating U.S. dollars 45 million in aid this year alone.

Mr. Mandela, who will not visit any other European countries on this trip, in spite of numerous invitations, will be saying a big "thank you" for the support given to his organisation, spokesmen said.

It was understood this factor, with so many people and organisations clamouring for his attention, was one of the main reasons for Mr. Mandela returning to his original schedule.

Also cited was Mr. Mandela's wish for lengthy consultations with ANC President Oliver Tambo, who is being treated in a Stockholm clinic since suffering a stroke which partially paralysed him last August.

Swedish officials said on Friday the visit was being cut short at Mr. Mandela's own request.

The ANC leader has had a non-stop round of discussions with a wide spectrum of political leaders, clerics and businessmen since his release on February 11.

In the last week, he has visited Zambia, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Zanzibar and Ethiopia and reports are that the strain is beginning to show on the 71-year-old leader.

His personal physician, travelling with him, ordered Mr. Mandela on Sunday to have a day of rest before departing on the long flight to Stockholm in the evening.

Further on Swedish Visit

MB1103202090 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1948 GMT 11 Mar 90

[By Mark van der Veld]

[Excerpts] Stockholm March 11 SAPA—Urgent petitions from Swedish anti-apartheid organisations, backed by the government, on Sunday [11 March] persuaded the African National Congress [ANC] to extend ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela's visit to a full week.

Plans for Mr Mandela's visit were cut short on Friday with the ANC confirming the rising wave of unrest in South Africa's townships and homelands needed the leader's personal intervention.

Reports were also that the strain of Mr Mandela's non-stop schedule since his release a month ago was beginning to show, and that his personal physician had ordered him to take a day of rest in Tanzania on Sunday before leaving for Stockholm.

On Sunday afternoon Swedish Foreign Ministry officials released a severely curtailed schedule for Mr Mandela, showing his visit was to end on Wednesday night, and that a mass public rally had been canceled.

Shortly afterwards, however, they told the growing international press corps that Mr Mandela and the ANC had now agreed to return to the full schedule, lasting until Saturday.

The mass rally, planned for Friday, had been reinstated and would provide an important opportunity for the Swedish public to meet Mr Mandela.

At a later press conference, the ANC's chief representative in Sweden, Mr Billy Modise, said it had been agreed "after consultations, that this very important rally does take place.

"It will give the ANC delegation an opportunity to meet with the people of Sweden and to help strengthen the bonds of friendship and solidarity between our two peoples.

"We are acutely conscious of the political and material support we have received from Sweden".

He confirmed however that the ANC was concerned at the strain a heavy schedule was putting on Mr Mandela and that care was being taken not to overburden him. [passage omitted]

Besides meeting Swedish Government leaders, the overseas leadership of the ANC and a host of other prominent figures, a prime purpose of Mr Mandela's visit was to say a big "thank you" to the ordinary people of Sweden for their support over the years, an ANC spokesman said.

At the top of his list however are meetings with the ailing ANC President Oliver Tambo, who is recuperating in a Stockholm clinic after a stroke partially paralysed him last August.

Mr Mandela and Mr Tambo, close friends and former law partners in Johannesburg and leading lights in the ANC Youth League then, have not seen each other since 1962.

Mr Mandela's daily meetings with Mr Tambo will take place behind doors, although official photographs of their reunion will be released.

Mr Modise said the media should not be suspicious of this, as Mr Tambo was genuinely making "tremendous progress" in his recovery.

The ANC leadership had however decided Mr Tambo should be given time rest and recover fully without the strain of the media's focus. [passage omitted]

Mr Mandela, who is scheduled to arrive at Stockholm's Arlanda Airport about 11AM South African time on Monday, will be received and feted with all the pomp and ceremony normally reserved for visiting heads of state.

His schedule includes talks with Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson, a possible meeting with King Carl Gustav, an address to the Swedish parliament, the Riksdag, and a religious ceremony in his honour at the Lutheran cathedral in Uppsala near Stockholm.

He will also be meeting government ministers from other Nordic countries, church leaders and Organisation of African Unity ambassadors.

British opposition Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock will also make a special trip to Stockholm on Wednesday to meet Mr Mandela.

Organisers said over 12,000 people were expected to brave the cold weather to fill the local stadium on Friday night to see Mr Mandela and listen to his address. [passage omitted]

Gazankulu 'Generally Quiet' 10-11 Mar

*MB1103183890 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1823 GMT 11 Mar 90*

[Text] Giyani, Mar 11, SAPA—Five huts were burned and police arrested seven people during a "generally quiet" weekend in Gazankulu, the homelands government said in a statement on Sunday [11 March].

According to the statement, there were only a few, isolated incidents to report.

A policeman was injured and a police vehicle slightly damaged when police were confronted by a crowd while investigating an attempted murder.

Five huts were burned—one at Homo, one at Mavalani and three at Calcutta.

It was unknown whether workers involved in stayaway would return to work on Monday because "intimidation throughout the area is still widespread," the statement said.

Pan-Africanist Movement Renamed 'PAC-Internal'

*MB1003194090 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1802 GMT 10 Mar 90*

[Text] Bloemfontein March 10 SAPA—The Pan-Africanist Movement has been renamed PAC-Internal.

This decision was taken at a special conference of the organisation in Bloemfontein on Saturday, SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] Radio news reports.

The resolution stated that while the internal movement acknowledged the need for the external PAC to engage in all forms of struggle, including the armed struggle, the internal PAC would delineate for itself the role of political mobilization of the African masses to liberate themselves.

The resolution further stated that PAC-Internal would retain fraternal relations with PAC-External.

About 300 delegates from 49 areas attended the conference.

10 Mar Press 'Review on Current Problems, Issues MB1003134490

[Editorial Report]

THE CITIZEN

Mandela Fails To Inspire White Confidence—Nelson Mandela's espousal of Zimbabwe as an example of what South Africa should be is not reassuring, says a page 6 editorial in Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 9 March. Zimbabwe has a "faltering economy" and President Robert Mugabe's policies in general do not "inspire much confidence" among whites. South Africa, by contrast, is a "highly developed country," where whites "control the civil service, the army and the police." The economy "is totally in their hands and their entrepreneurial skills are needed." "Disaster" will happen in South Africa either if "fearful whites abandon this country" or "extremist whites" "think the answer is in violence." In any case, Mandela cannot inspire white confidence if he talks of nationalization and continuing the armed struggle.

SATURDAY STAR

Katlehong Unrest Shows Need for 'Genuine Town'—In its 10 March editorial on page 8, Johannesburg SATURDAY STAR in English discusses the "mindless savagery" in Katlehong between rival taxi operators, a "terror campaign" "said to have been triggered by children taking sides between taxi groups." The cause, it states, is that the townships are "more Russian than African, more like gulags than voluntary communities." The savagery may be "a warped response to a need for some sort of genuine town."

THE NAMIBIAN

Commission's In-Camera Sessions Inadequate—In its 7 March editorial on page 4, Windhoek THE NAMIBIAN in English asserts that the Harms Commission decision to hold in camera sessions concerning slain SWAPO (South-West African People's Organization) executive Anton Lubowski is "condemned from many quarters in Namibia, where people want answers, for once and for all." "There is little chance of adequate explanation if the hearings are to be held in secret."

TIMES OF NAMIBIA

Commission's In-Camera Sessions 'Disturbing'—In its 8 March editorial on page 2, Windhoek TIMES OF NAMIBIA in English notes that contrary to "reports in other newspapers," the Harms Commission had not yet made a decision on whether sessions would be held in camera. "But the fact that an in camera hearing is considered at all, is in itself a disturbing possibility." The Commission chairman was pressed to "conduct further inquiry in the open," because otherwise "the shadow of doubt would linger" over any decision as to whether slain SWAPO executive Anton Lubowski was a South African spy.

Angola**UNITA Reports 10 Mar Military Situation**

MB1103034090 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 2222 GMT 10 Mar 90

["Political and Military Situation Report" for 1200 GMT on 10 March—read by announcer]

[Text] 1. Enemy forces continue (?paralyzed) throughout the war area between Cuito Cuanavale and Mavinga. The supply column came under several attacks and was forced to stop between Mienei River and the Lomba River's source.

2. Our special forces penetrated an enemy position northwest of Mavinga at night on 9 March, destroying one BMP-1 armored car and two cargo vehicles.

3. Our forces attacked and took the enemy barracks at Vista Alegre, southeast of Uige, on 8 March. Our forces killed 11 FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] soldiers, destroyed one vehicle, and captured nine weapons.

4. Our forces attacked the enemy barracks at Cassai-Gare at 0630 on 9 March. Our forces killed 14 FAPLA soldiers, captured 12 AK-47 rifles, two RPG-7 rocket launchers, and three RPK weapons.

5. To restore a free, independent, and democratic fatherland, the FALA [Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] forces are determined to continue the struggle.

[Issued] Office of the Chief of General Staff, 10 March 1990

[Signed] Colonel Zacarias Mundombe, deputy military intelligence chief

11 Mar Military Situation

MB1203061790 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0510 GMT 12 Mar 90

["Political and Military Situation Report" for 1100 GMT on 11 March—read by announcer]

[Text] 1. Systematic shellings of FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] targets continued the whole of yesterday evening and this morning against all enemy lines stifled by our forces on the Cuito Cuanavale-Mavinga operational front.

2. Enemy troops, particularly those closer to Mavinga, have begun to desert their ranks and surrender to our forces because of immense difficulties they are facing. Others continue to die ingloriously in their hideouts without the least concern of their high command.

3. As a result of our actions, our forces destroyed five vehicles and two BMP-1's, killed 17 FAPLA soldiers, including Major Cangamba, chief of a provisory unit.

4. At 0941, two MiG squadrons [as heard] bombed our forces on the outskirts of Mavinga using toxic and phosphorous bombs, thus showing, as always, FAPLA's High Command despair.

5. There is no single weapon worldwide that can silence a people's will for ever. The Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola are determined to realize the Angolan people's will to have peace, liberty, and democracy.

[Issued] Office of the Chief of General Staff, 13 March [as heard] 1990

[Signed] Colonel Zacarias Mundombe, deputy military intelligence chief

Botswana**Government Denies Claims on Namibian Caprivi Strip**

MB0903214790 Dakar PANA in English 1705 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] Windhoek, 9 March (PANA)—The Botswana Government Friday [9 March] strongly denied that it has made any claims on the Namibian Caprivi Strip.

Head of Botswana observer mission in Windhoek, Otis Tebape, who was responding to local newspaper reports that his country was planning to annex Caprivi, categorically said there was no intention on the part of Botswana Government to claim the territory of any of its neighbours.

Local newspapers carried Thursday a report about the intention of a Botswana member of Parliament Maitshwarelo Dabutha, to introduce a motion in Parliament pressing Botswana's claims to Caprivi.

Tebape, however, told PANA in Windhoek that Dabutha belonged to the opposition Botswana National Front and that his views therefore did not reflect that of the Botswana Government.

He stressed that the Botswana Government subscribed to the principles of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) which obliged member states to respect colonial boundaries.

The planned motion by the Botswana parliamentarian was first reported in the BOTSWANA GUARDIAN and it immediately drew an angry response from residents in the Caprivi Strip which borders Botswana, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Angola.

Namibia's minister of transport-designate, Richard Kapelwa, Friday added his voice to the general feeling of outrage at the Botswana parliamentarian's claim.

Kapelwa said any claim by any neighbouring country to an inch of our territory would be regarded by the entire revolutionary Namibian people as an insult.

He told THE NAMIBIAN daily in an interview that whoever had that kind of thinking at the back of his mind was absolutely ignorant of Namibia's history.

Lesotho

King Moshoeshoe II Reportedly Plans Exile in UK

MB1003110490 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1040 GMT 10 Mar 90

[Text] Maseru March 10 SAPA—Lesotho's King Moshoeshoe II is expected to leave the country on Saturday [10 March] afternoon to go into exile in Britain, SABC's [South African Broadcasting Corporation] Africa desk reports.

This step follows bitter clashes between the king and the chairman of the ruling Military Council, Maj-Gen Metsing Lekhanya, who last month stripped the monarch of executive and legislative powers.

King Moshoeshoe will be going into exile for the second time in 21 years.

In 1970, he was forced to go into exile in Holland.

A spokesman for the British high commission in Maseru said he was unaware of the king going into exile in Britain.

Departs for UK 'Holiday' 10 Mar

MB1003140790 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1403 GMT 10 Mar 90

[Text] Maseru, March 10, SAPA—Lesotho's King Moshoeshoe II has left the country on his way to Jan Smuts Airport on the first leg of a trip to the United Kingdom.

Earlier reports said the king was going into exile after bitter clashes with the head of the ruling military council, Maj-Gen Metsing Lekhanya.

A spokesman for the Lesotho Government told SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation]'s radio news that it was not known how long the king would be away, but that he was on holiday to rest, following the clashes with Gen. Lekhanya.

King Moshoeshoe's wife, Queen Mamohato Seeiso, would act as queen regent until he returned.

The monarch was stripped of all executive and legislative powers by Gen. Lekhanya last month.

Lekhanya: King on 'Sabbatical'

MB1003163890 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1608 GMT 10 Mar 90

[Text] Maseru, March 10, SAPA—The chairman of the Military Council of Lesotho, Maj-Gen Metsing Lekhanya, said on Saturday [10 March] the council had requested King Moshoeshoe II to take "a brief sabbatical" in the United Kingdom.

In a statement broadcast over Radio Lesotho a few hours after the king left the country, Gen. Lekhanya said the "sabbatical" should allow the king "ample opportunity for reflection."

"Leaflets scattered in the streets claiming my colleagues and I have usurped the powers of the king are an irresponsible distortion of the truth."

The general said these pamphlets were aimed at "provoking anarchy and bloodshed, and situation we pray should be averted at all costs."

He said some people would like to attribute these leaflets to the king.

The Military Council was mindful of its responsibility to protect and defend the integrity of the king and throne and was determined to defend public order and peace, "lest our nation find itself engaged in mindless conflict," he said.

Gen. Lekhanya said that in the four years since the 1986 coup, the Military Council had made worthwhile progress in instituting change in the administration of Lesotho's affairs.

"However there were persistent indications that some members of the council harboured secret ambitions for unbridled personal authority and power.

"It became increasingly clear that those members of the council had been making clandestine approaches to his majesty with false promises of elevating him to a position of absolute monarchy in exchange for a favourable portion of the spoils.

"Conspiracies were hatched to subvert existing authority and undermine discipline within the armed forces."

Today's departure into exile of King Moshoeshoe was his second in 20 years.

During the state of emergency imposed by the late Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan in 1970, the king was exiled to Holland for nine months after he claimed more power under the Constitution.

'Unclear' Whether King Departed

MB1003191290 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1907 GMT 10 Mar 90

[Text] Johannesburg, March 10, SAPA—It was unclear whether Lesotho's King Moshoeshoe II flew out of Jan Smuts Airport on Saturday [10 March] night.

Surveillance of passengers entering public departure terminals to board the last two London-bound flights leaving Jan Smuts Airport failed to produce anybody fitting the king's description.

Maseru Radio Reports Departure

*MB1103054190 Maseru Domestic Service in English
0500 GMT 11 Mar 90*

[Text] The chairman of the Military Council and Council of Ministers, Major General Metsing Lekhanya, has announced that the government has decided that His Majesty King Moshoeshoe II should go on holiday to Britain.

His Majesty left the country yesterday.

The announcement stated that, in the absence of His Majesty, Her Majesty Queen Mamohato will temporarily assume the duties of the king.

Maj. Gen. Lekhanya added that among the reasons which have necessitated this decision is to help His Majesty to avoid some people who want to use him for their own ends.

Mozambique**Chissano Departs for United States 11 Mar**

*MB1203061290 Maputo Domestic Service
in Portuguese 0400 GMT 12 Mar 90*

[Text] President Joaquim Chissano yesterday left for Washington on a visit to the United States at the invitation of his counterpart George Bush.

Chissano Receives RSA Foreign Affairs Official

*MB0903192590 Maputo Domestic Service
in Portuguese 1730 GMT 9 Mar 90*

[Text] President Joaquim Alberto Chissano in Maputo this afternoon received a [Republic of] South African [RSA] delegation led by Neil van Heerden, South African foreign affairs director general.

Antonio Bernardo Cuna reports:

[Begin Cuna recording] Neil van Heerden said he had come to Maputo under orders from South African President Frederik de Klerk and Foreign Minister Roelof [Pik] Botha. He told journalists at Maputo airport that he discussed the latest events in southern Africa with the Mozambican head of state.

He said President Joaquim Chissano had briefed him on the Mozambican peace process's latest developments, adding these efforts are very important to South Africa because Mozambique is a very important neighboring country.

The South African official also said during the interview that the issues of establishing bilateral diplomatic relations and the Cahora Bassa hydroelectric dam were not discussed at the meeting. However, he said he had briefed South African personnel in Maputo on Pretoria's position on the Cahora Bassa Dam, an important project.

Neil van Heerden also disclosed he briefed President Joaquim Chissano on Pretoria's willingness to facilitate efforts for peace in the People's Republic of Angola, if that is desired, in addition to mediation by Zairian President Mobutu Sese Seko.

Pretoria offered to help facilitate that process at the recent tripartite meeting in Luanda on the New York Accords. Neil van Heerden says we are living times of anxiety, but he added we have already turned the corner and are now on the road to a new future. He noted we are brushing aside past ideas of finding military solutions for the various conflicts in the world, adding people believe increasingly in the process of talking together, nations with nations and governments with opposition bodies.

He said this spirit now stands in South Africa. The Pretoria official said this is what we need to end our wars and conflicts so we can develop our countries and give our countries what they need, notably housing and education.

Neil van Heerden, South African foreign affairs director general, concluded by saying we are marching toward a great future in southern Africa. [end recording]

Machungo Warns Against South African Socialism

*MB1103083890 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES
in English 11 Mar 90 p 1*

[Excerpt] The Prime Minister of Mozambique, Dr Mario Machungo, this week warned against the introduction of socialism in South Africa [SA].

Asked by visiting SA newspapermen what economic advice he had for the ANC [African National Congress], Dr Machungo replied: "If the ANC asked me about central planning, I would say 'don't do it'.

"We've tried it and it doesn't work", he warned.

After more than a decade of Marxist policies, Mozambique today is one of the world's poorest countries (the official minimum wage is R80 [rand] a week). It is desperately trying to rebuild by freeing the economy. [passage omitted]

Namibia**Police Investigate Phosphorous Bombings in North**

*MB1203094090 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0934 GMT 12 Mar 90*

[Text] Windhoek March 12 SAPA—SWA [South-West Africa] Police experts were investigating the dropping of phosphorous bombs by two unidentified fighter aircraft 2km inside northern Namibia, police spokesman Birg. Sigg Eimbeck said on Monday [12 March].

The two bombs, dropped 40km east of Bagani and about 3km from a First National Development Corporation

Agricultural Project in Caprivi at about 11AM on Saturday, fell close to women working on the project.

Nobody was hurt and no damage reported, Brig. Eimbeck said. The women described the aircraft as flying very fast.

Indications were the bombs were similar to the one allegedly dropped by an Angolan aircraft in the region earlier this year.

The Angolan Government denied it had been responsible for the attack.

Nujoma on International Fishing in 200-Mile Zone

*MB1203104190 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0909 GMT 12 Mar 90*

[Text] Windhoek March 12 SAPA—Namibia's president-elect, Mr. Sam Nujoma, has requested the International Commission for South East Atlantic Fisheries [ICSEAF] to urge its members to stop all fishing within 200 nautical miles off Namibia's coast, NBC radio news reports.

Mr. Nujoma said, in a letter to ICSEAF, the incoming government would give the highest priority to the proclamation of a 200 mile exclusive interest zone for Namibia.

The government was making the request despite the fact the exclusive interest zone would not yet be in force on March 21.

Mr. Nujoma expressed his deep concern about the condition of marine resources presently being exploited by members of ICSEAF.

South Korea Opens Liaison Office in Windhoek

*MB1003063590 Windhoek THE NAMIBIAN in English
7 Mar 90 p 3*

[Text] The Republic of Korea has established a liaison office in Windhoek. The office, headed by Ambassador Song Hak-won, is located temporarily at the Kalahari Sands Hotel, Room 912. The head of the mission said the office, which opened on February 19, would contribute to the promotion of friendly relations between South Korea and the new nation of Namibia.

Joint Trade Commission With Angola Planned

*MB1003081090 Windhoek Domestic Service
in Afrikaans 0600 GMT 10 Mar 90*

[Text] A joint commission of Namibian and Angolan businessmen is to be formed to initiate trade relations between the two countries. The decision to form the commission was taken during a 4-day visit to Namibia by a group of 25 Angolan businessmen.

The visit was arranged by (?Mr.) Antonio dos Santos, president of the Angolan Chamber of Commerce and

leader of the group, following an earlier visit to Luanda in January by Namibian businessmen.

According to the coordinator of the visit, [name indistinct], Namibian and Angolan businessmen will meet again at Lubango in southern Angola. He said the Angolan delegation was impressed by Namibia's (?infrastructure) and available consumer (?products).

During their visit the Angolans visited a brewery, (?packaging) and meat factories, as well as abattoirs. They also visited Walvis Bay [words indistinct].

Further on Trade Commission

*MB1203075290 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0723 GMT 12 Mar 90*

[Text] Windhoek March 12 SAPA—An Angolan business delegation to Namibia visited Walvis Bay to investigate the possibility of off-loading refined oil, cement and timber from Angola, NBC radio news reports.

A commission including Angolan and Namibian businessmen is to be appointed to facilitate business contact between the two countries.

A 22-member delegation headed by the president of the Angolan Chamber of Commerce, Mr. Antonio dos Santos, spent four days in Namibia returning a visit by a group of Namibian businessmen to Angola in January.

The co-ordinator of the Exchange, Mr Peter Koep, said in Windhoek a further meeting between groups of businessmen was scheduled to take place in Lubango in southern Angola.

Mr. Koep said the Angolans had been impressed by the country's infrastructure and the availability of consumer goods. During their stay they had toured the breweries, packaging and meat factories, as well as abattoirs, he said.

Zambia

Kaunda To Open Convention on Multiparty System

*MB1103182190 Lusaka Domestic Service in English
1800 GMT 11 Mar 90*

[Text] President Kaunda will this week open Zambia's (?fifth) national convention, which will for the first time in 18 years consider the reintroduction of the multiparty system as well as the [word indistinct] the country's (?flagging) economy.

About 1,000 delegates from all over the country are expected to converge in Lusaka for the convention which will, among other things, assess the merit of Zambia's one-party participatory democracy following the wind of change in Eastern Europe, which has brought down single-party communist domination in favor of multiparty systems.

This will be the largest attended national convention, with representatives from the widest sectors of society,

including former members of the Central Committee and cabinet ministers, as well as serving heads of missions abroad, chiefs, trade unions, associations, the University of Zambia, the (?farming) business community, and former civil servants.

U.S. Support to UNITA 'Bandits' Criticized

*MB1003203290 Lusaka Domestic Service in English
1800 GMT 10 Mar 90*

[Text] President Kaunda has complained about super-power interference in the internal affairs of small nations [words indistinct] in some countries.

Comrade Kaunda said in Lusaka today that the interference of big nations into the affairs of smaller nations was not the best way of [word indistinct] international relations.

He said he looked forward to the day when the United States would curtail support to UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] bandits to [words indistinct] peace initiatives by the government.

Comrade Kaunda was speaking when Angolan Minister of Defense Lieutenant General Pedro Maria Tonha and his delegation called on him at State House.

Guinea-Bissau

Decree Reshuffles Cabinet; 4 Ministries Abolished

AB0903213490 Paris AFP in French 2032 GMT
9 Mar 90

[Text] Bissau, 9 Mar (AFP)—A cabinet reshuffle, which was marked by the abolition of four ministries (planning, economic coordination, commerce-tourism, and social equipment) and the creation of seven new ones, occurred today in Guinea-Bissau under a decree from the presidency of the Council of State (ruling body) published in Bissau. The seven new ministries (created or renamed) are those of economy-finance, social affairs, promotion

of woman's issues, public works, construction-town planning, international cooperation, and transportation.

The presidential decree explained that this reshuffle was prompted by the need to make the government team's action more efficient. The new cabinet formed after the reshuffle includes 24 ministers and 16 secretaries of state. It is also marked by the return of Mrs. Carmen Pereira as the minister of state in charge of social affairs.

New Cabinet Members Announced

AB1003104990 Paris AFP in French 2041 GMT
9 Mar 90

[Text] Here is the list of the members of the new Government of Guinea-Bissau following today's cabinet reshuffle:

Chairman of the Council of State and head of government	Joao Bernardo Vieira
First Deputy Chairman of the Council of State and Minister of State for the Armed Forces	Iafai Camara
Second Deputy Chairman of the Council of State and Minister of State at the Presidency in Charge of Coordination of the Social Sector	Vasco Cabral
Minister of State for Rural Development and Agriculture	Carlos Correia
Minister of State at the Presidency	Fidelis Cabral de Almada
Minister of State for Social Affairs:	Carmen Pereira (new)
Minister of State for Economy and Finance	Manuel Maria dos Santos
Minister of National Security and Public Order	Jose Pereira
Minister of Natural Resources and Industry	Filinto Barros
Minister of Foreign Affairs	Julio Semedo
Minister of Public Health	Henriqueta Godinho Gomes (former minister of public service and labor)
Minister of Justice	Mario Cabral (former resident minister for Northern Province):
Minister of Education	Manuel Rambout Barcelos
Minister of Civil Service and Labor	Alexandre Nunes Correia (former minister of public health)
Minister of Commerce and Tourism	Luis Oliveira Sanca (former resident minister for Southern Province)
Minister of International Cooperation	Bernardino Cardoso (former minister of planning)
Minister of Women's Affairs	Francisca Pereira (new)
Resident Minister for Northern Province	Zeca Martins (former secretary of state for information)
Resident Minister of Southern Province	Nicandro Barreto (former minister of justice)
Resident Minister for Eastern Province	Mario Mendes (new)
Minister of Fisheries	Victor Freire Monteiro (former minister of finance)
Minister of Transport	Avito Jose da Silva (former minister of social equipment)
Minister of Public Works, Construction, and Town Planning	Alberto Lima Gomes
Minister of Information and Telecommunications	Moussa Djassi
Minister Governor of the Central Bank	Pedro Godinho
Secretary of State for Freedom Fighters of the Fatherland	Joaquim Furtado
Secretary of State for Natural Resources	Joao Gomes Cardoso
Secretary of State for Commerce	Mario Ribeiro
Secretary of State for Defense	Jose Marques Vieira (new)
Secretary of State for Agriculture	Samba Lamine Mane (new)
Secretary of State for Administrative Reforms	Paulo Carlos Medina (new)
Secretary of State for Treasury	Eduardo Fernandes

Secretary of State for Information	Agnelo Regala (new)
Secretary of State for Culture, Youth, and Sports	Alexandre Futado
Secretary of State for Insurance and Social Affairs	Luis Candido Ribeiro
Secretary of State for Planning	Aristides Menezes (former secretary of state for international cooperation)
Secretary of State for Tourism and Cottage Industry	Joseph Turpin (former secretary of state for fisheries)
Secretary of State for Justice	Daniel Ferreira (new)
Secretary of State for Fisheries	Ansumane Mane (new)
Secretary of State for Public Health	Celestino Costa (new)
Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs	Marcellino Lima

Attorney General, Armed Forces Head

AB1103132590 Paris AFP in French 2239 GMT
9 Mar 90

[Text] Bissau, 9 Mar (AFP)—Mr. Joao Aurigema Cruz Pinto, an adviser at Guinea Bissau's Supreme Court, has been appointed president of that institution, replacing Mr. Rui Dos Mercedes Barreto, who has been appointed an ambassador, official sources have announced. According to the presidential decree, the new Supreme Court president will have cabinet minister rank.

Also, Mr. Mario Ernesto Lopes, formerly permanent undersecretary to the chairman of the State Council, has been appointed attorney general, replacing Mr. Paulo Carlos Medina, who has been appointed secretary of state for administrative reforms. Also, Colonel Ansumane Mane, has been appointed Armed Forces chief of staff, replacing Mr. Jose Marques Vieira, who has been appointed secretary of state for defense.

Finally, Mr. Flavio Giselo Proenca, mayor of Bissau Municipality, has been appointed, permanent secretary at the Ministry of National Security and Public Order. [Paris AFP in French at 1026 GMT on 11 March also reports that "on Saturday, President Joao Bernardo Vieira named his old comrade-in-arms, Mr. Victor Saude Maria, as mayor of the city of Bissau."]

Ivory Coast

Dissident Laurent Gbagbo Under House Arrest

AB1003171790 Paris AFP in English 1714 GMT
10 Mar 90

[Text] Abidjan, March 10 (AFP)—Professor Laurent Gbagbo, the leading dissident in the Ivory Coast, was put under house arrest here Saturday [10 March], his lawyer said.

The lawyer, Emile Boga, said that shortly before being placed under house arrest, Mr Gbagbo was refused a visa to visit France, where he was to have been interviewed by a television station.

On Thursday, Mr. Gbagbo said that he was "ready to govern" and called for "calm and tranquil" antigovernment protests.

Gbagbo Released

AB1103071690 Paris AFP in French 0538 GMT
11 Mar 90

[Text] Abidjan, 11 Mar (AFP)—The best known opponent to the Ivorian regime, Professor Laurent Gbagbo, who was placed under house arrest at his residence here yesterday afternoon, was set free on the night of Sunday, 11 March, his lawyer, Emile Boga, has announced.

Mr. Gbagbo was received at midnight, 0000 GMT, at the Ministry of Interior, where he was informed that the president of the Republic was setting him "completely free" again, his lawyer further said.

Mr. Gbagbo, who is chairman of the Ivorian Popular Front, had said on Thursday, 8 March, that he was "ready to rule" the country and had called on the disgruntled to "stage demonstrations in calm and serenity, without any unnecessary excesses."

Senegal

Opposition Rally Urges President Diouf To Resign

AB1103093790 Libreville Africa No 1 in French
0730 GMT 11 Mar 90

[Text] Yesterday in Dakar, Senegal, about 2,000 persons attended a political rally organized by the National Conference of Opposition party leaders. The leaders of the nine parties took the floor in turn to request the resignation of President Abdou Diouf and Jean Collin, secretary general of the presidency. They also called for the holding of free and democratic elections.

It will be recalled that President Abdou Diouf is currently in Kuwait in continuation of his tour of the Gulf countries.

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DATE FILMED

14 March 1990

